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CONFIDENTIAL.

Further Correspondence respecting Turkey.

Part XXII.

E 3634/3137/93] No. 1.

Sir G. Clerk to Mr. A. Henderson. —(*Received July* 13.)

(No. 223.)

Sir, *Angora, July* 8, 1931.

WITH reference to my despatch No. 196 of the 10th June last, I have the honour to report that King Feisal arrived here from Bagdad on the 6th instant on an official visit, which ends this evening.

2. The arrangements for His Majesty's journey from the Turkish frontier onwards and for his entertainment here were very similar to those made for the visit of the Earl of Athlone and Princess Alice in April, the only difference being that, since the visit was an official one from the Head of a State, the President of the Republic met the King at the station here, and a salute of twenty-one guns was fired as the Royal train came in. The three days spent in Angora have been fully occupied with the usual luncheons, dinners and receptions. King Feisal was accompanied by Rustam Haidar, Minister of Finance, his Chamberlain and an aide-de-camp. Nuri Pasha, the Prime Minister of Iraq, who is returning from Europe to Bagdad, met His Majesty at Angora.

3. The origin of the visit still remains wrapped in a certain obscurity, but I am inclined to think that the simple explanation which I have deduced from my talks with the King and Nuri Pasha is right, namely, that the King wished to come into personal contact with the Gazi and to get by personal observation some idea of the development of Turkey and its capital. The King's journey to Europe afforded a natural opportunity for this, and it was equally natural to arrange for the Iraqi Prime Minister to pass through Angora on his way back to Bagdad in order that outstanding questions between the two countries might be discussed at the same time. But I do not think that these discussions were in themselves the motive of the visit. In fact, when I asked Nuri Pasha on Monday evening how the various questions were getting on, he replied that, while of course prepared to talk on any point that the Turks chose to raise, neither the King nor he himself intended to initiate such discussions. Yesterday evening he told me that in the course of the day the Turks had touched upon the three outstanding points, the Treaty of Commerce and Residence, frontier incidents, and oil royalties.

4. The talk about the treaty of commerce was rather for the purpose of speeding up the negotiations than for settling disputed points. As regards the violation of the frontier, the Turkish Government had undertaken to send strict instructions to their frontier authorities to punish the offenders and prevent the recurrence of these regrettable incidents, and Nuri Pasha expressed himself as quite satisfied with the assurances that he had obtained and said that there was now no need for me to associate myself with, or support, the Iraqi protest. Accordingly, unless and until there is some fresh development, I do not propose to take action under the instruction conveyed to me in your telegram No. 20 to Constantinople of the 3rd June.

5. As for oil, Nuri Pasha's account was not very clear, and we were continually interrupted during our conversations, but both he and Tevfik Rüstü Bey gave me to understand that there was a possibility of meeting the wishes of the Turkish Government by acceding to its claim that the twenty-five years of payment of royalties should date from the new agreement with the Iraq Petroleum Company, and not from the Mosul Treaty. Nothing definite had been settled as yet, but both parties seemed hopeful of reaching agreement.

6. As regards the visit itself, there is no doubt that it has given considerable pleasure to the Turks, partly because it gratifies their national vanity, which sees in such events a pleasing and public tribute to the importance of their country, and partly because it is an undeniable proof of genuinely good and friendly relations. The formal speeches exchanged between the Gazi and King Feisal at the President's dinner on Monday, of which I enclose the text herein,(1) are more or less platitudinous, but Turkish sentiment is more precisely set forth in a leading article in the "République" of yesterday, of which I also enclose a copy.(1) Incidentally it is perhaps worth noting that Yunus Nadi, the writer of the article and no particular friend of ours, observes that the excellent relations prevailing between Turkey and Iraq owe their birth to the uprightness of England in its character of mandatory Power, a point to which the Gazi also deliberately drew King Feisal's attention when I was talking with them yesterday evening. I have also the impression that King Feisal has been genuinely pleased with his reception here and feels that his idea of making the visit has been completely justified.

7. The visit seems to have caused a certain flutter in the French dove-cote, and my French colleague admitted to me that he had been a little harassed by requests from his Government as to the meaning to be attached to this political manifestation. I gave M. de Chambrun my own opinion as to the genesis of the visit in the same words as I have used in this despatch, very greatly to his relief, for he told me that he had already, failing to find any other reasonable explanation, telegraphed in much the same sense to Paris, and he was frankly delighted to have his views confirmed by me. He did not tell me that it was not surprising that our views coincided, for, as I have since discovered, his were based on a conversation with a member of my staff.

8. I should perhaps also put on record that both King Feisal and the Gazi have been almost demonstratively friendly to me personally during the visit. In the case of the Gazi the method employed was to call me to stand between him and King Feisal, while he held forth at length on his great pleasure at the visit, his sincere feeling of mutual friendliness between the two countries, his appreciation of our share in bringing this about, all of these happy sentiments being pledged, much, I surmise, to the King's discomfort, in bumpers of sweet champagne. King Feisal, for his part, has gone out of his way to show a desire to meet and talk with me and his pleasure at my tentative offer to entertain him at Constantinople, which he admitted he had hoped I would make.

9. The King left for Constantinople this evening, the departure being marked by the same ceremonial as the arrival, with the added thrill of Turkey's foremost airman performing evolutions in a machine constructed entirely by himself at a height of a few feet over our heads. In Constantinople the King's visit becomes a private one, although he will be lodged in the Palace of Dolmabakçe. I shall have the honour to entertain King Feisal to dinner at His Majesty's Embassy on Saturday next, and he intends to leave on the Sunday or Monday for Berne, where he will spend a month for medical treatment and then go on to London.

10. I am sending a copy of this despatch to His Majesty's Acting High Commissioner at Bagdad.

I have, &c.
GEORGE R. CLERK.

(1) Not printed.

[E 3635/69/44] No. 2.

Sir G. Clerk to Mr. A. Henderson.—(Received July 13.)

(No. 224.)

Sir, *Angora, July 8, 1931.*

I HAVE the honour to report that for some weeks past a violent press campaign has been in progress between the Government organs and the Opposition papers of Constantinople, the protagonists being Yunus Nadi Bey, of the "Cumhuriyet," and Arif Oruç Bey, of the "Yarin." The vituperation and abuse indulged in by either side have been quite out of the ordinary, epithets such as "thief," "traitor," "scamp" and "parasite" being among the more respectable of those in daily use, while incidents from the lurid past of each of the two principal opponents have been served up daily for the delectation of a public still Byzantine in its relish of scandal in any form.

2. It was hardly to be expected that Yunus Nadi Bey, stung by the taunts and revelations of his colleagues, would not make use of his superior tactical position as a leading Deputy and influential journalist of the Popular party to marshal the whole forces of the Grand National Assembly and the Government itself against his somewhat obscure antagonist. The most vulnerable spot in Arif Oruç Bey's armour was the fact that he had been a recipient of the attentions of an Independence Tribunal on account of alleged treasonable activities during the armistice period, and when the advantages of this line of attack were fully realised, other Government organs, including the semi-official "Milliyet" and its French counterpart, joined in the onslaught, which was now directed also against the remaining Constantinople Opposition papers, the "Yilmaz" and "Son Posta," and the Opposition press of Smyrna. Certain articles in these papers were alleged to have contained reflections on the Gazi himself, as well as, in less measured terms, on the pure patriots who had collaborated with him in achieving national independence and bestowing the benefits of the ensuing revolution upon a grateful people. It was considered intolerable that all that the nation held most sacred should be wantonly outraged in the name of free criticism and the liberty of the press by a faction of hypocritical reactionaries who represented all that was most ignoble in the old régime, and the Government was called upon so to modify the Press Law as to put an end for ever to such baneful activities.

3. Matters came to a head on the 5th July, when the delinquencies of the Opposition press and the question of altering the existing law were made the subject of a full-dress debate in the Assembly. After Yunus Nadi Bey and a number of orators had delivered themselves of fiery harangues, consisting mainly of amazing personal attacks on the various Opposition editors, the Prime Minister himself rose and delivered a lengthy speech, which, as far as can be judged from the available text, was studiously moderate in tone and general in character. The attitude of the Opposition press was, indeed, most deplorable, but really powerless either to weaken the Government and lower its prestige, or seriously to impair the essential soundness of Turkish public opinion. The liberty of the press, whatever its disadvantages, was a sacred principle, and even the present situation was hardly sufficiently grave to warrant drastic measures. The Government had, however, in response to the demand of the Deputies, prepared a measure designed to remedy all the abuses which alone threatened the liberty of the press in this country, although they could not claim that it would necessarily prove fully efficacious. Even if it did not, however, there was no cause for alarm, for the Government had every confidence in the competence of the Assembly to provide for every emergency that might arise. They hoped that the new measure, far from injuring the life of the press, would actually secure for the country all the benefits of free controversy, and the Assembly would have the glory of the success thus achieved.

4. Ismet Pasha's speech was received with loud and prolonged demonstrations of approval, and the Assembly, having declared itself satisfied with the Prime Minister's explanations, and reiterated its attachment to the person of the Gazi, passed a vote of confidence in the Government without a dissentient voice.

I have, &c.
GEORGE R. CLERK.

[E 3760/3137/93] No. 3.

Sir G. Clerk to Mr. A. Henderson.—(Received July 20.)

(No. 229.)

Sir, *Constantinople, July 14, 1931.*

WITH reference to my despatch No. 223 of the 8th instant, I have the honour to report that King Feisal, accompanied by the Minister of Finance and the Grand Chamberlain, left Turkey to-day for Vienna and Berne on the conclusion of his visit to this country. Nuri Pasha having already left direct for Bagdad yesterday. I enclose a copy of the official communiqué recording the political results of the visit.

2. The King's stay in Constantinople has been entirely unofficial, though His Majesty has remained the guest of the Gazi in Dolmahahçe Palace. The time has been occupied by excursions to Yalova, the forest of Belgrade, and the Bosphorus, and visits to His Majesty's relations and the haunts of his youth, the only social engagements accepted by the King being to dine with me and to lunch with the Egyptian Minister, who is an old personal friend of His Majesty's, having been, in an earlier stage of his career, the King's lawyer.

3. Both at my dinner-party and to-day, when I said good-bye to King Feisal at the station, His Majesty and his suite all expressed themselves, and, I think, genuinely, as delighted with the visit and its excellent effect on the relations between the two countries, a sentiment which I am tempted to share. One tangible, and, for the Turks, gratifying, result has been that the Iraqi Government has agreed to give Turkey the 10 per cent. of the £400,000 to be paid to Iraq by the Iraq Petroleum Company under the new agreement concluded in March last.

4. I am recording the impressions derived from my conversations with King Feisal and Nuri Pasha in a separate despatch, No. 230, of to-day.

5. I have sent a copy of this despatch to His Majesty's Acting High Commissioner at Bagdad.

I have, &c.
GEORGE R. CLERK.

Enclosure in No. 3.

Extract from the "Akcham" of July 9, 1931.

Le Voyage du Roi Fayçal et l'Amitié turco-irakienne.

AU cours de la visite par laquelle Sa Majesté le Roi de l'Irak a bien voulu honorer Ankara, plusieurs entrevues, empreintes d'une sincère cordialité, se déroulèrent entre lui et son Excellence le Président de la République. Au cours des prises de contact et des conversations qui eurent lieu également entre le Président du Conseil et Said Nouri Pacha, le Ministre des Finances irakien Rustem Haydar Bey et le Premier Ministre Ismet Pacha ainsi que les Ministres des Affaires étrangères, de l'Intérieur et de l'Economie nationale des échanges de vue ont eu lieu au sujet des relations économiques entre les deux pays et des conditions de séjour des ressortissants des deux parties sur leur territoire respectif.

Un accord intervint pour que des négociations soient entreprises immédiatement en vue de la conclusion d'un traité de commerce et d'une convention de séjour.

Les deux parties tombèrent également d'accord pour reconnaitre que les liens d'amitié et de bon voisinage entre la Turquie et l'Irak sont conformes aux intérêts mutuels et à la politique de paix et de tranquillité des deux pays. Il a été également constaté de part et d'autre avec satisfaction que les mesures prises pour assurer la sécurité sur les frontières ont été appliquées avec sincérité et qu'elles ont donné les meilleurs résultats. On a confirmé encore une fois le principe de l'interdiction des mouvements hostiles de part et d'autre des frontières et la nécessité de poursuivre avec persévérance cette politique de vigilance.

[E 3761/3137/93] No. 4.

Sir G. Clerk to Mr. A. Henderson.—(Received July 20.)

(No. 230.)

Sir, *Constantinople, July 14, 1931.*

AT the dinner party and reception which, as reported in my immediately preceding despatch, I gave last Saturday in honour of King Feisal, His Majesty spoke to me at length. He said that some little time ago the Turkish Minister hinted that a visit would be welcome and the idea had appealed to the King. Perhaps the determining factor was the surrender of Sheikh Mahmoud in May last, for so long as that chieftain remained at large there was always a possibility of some incident making trouble between the two countries, but, with Sheikh Mahmoud safely out of the way, King Feisal could feel that a meeting with the Gazi and the Turkish Government would be all to the advantage of relations between the two countries.

2. His Majesty spoke freely about his conversations with the Gazi which, he said, had frankly surprised him. Put shortly, the Gazi had confessed that he was disappointed with the Russians, who, he realised, would not really help him. He distrusted the French and was far from sure of the Italians, but what was really good was the steady improvement in Turkish relations with England, and he looked to the day when he could count on England as a steadfast friend of whose support he was sure. It was due to this improvement in our relations and to the straightforward attitude of His Majesty's Government in all questions between Turkey and Iraq, as well as to the Gazi's belief that we alone of the Great Powers were disinterested, that relations between Turkey and Iraq had prospered so greatly and would, he felt sure, continue to develop. In fact, the Gazi seems to have come out into the open and expounded what I have always felt to be one of his favourite political conceptions, namely, a close understanding, if not an actual alliance, between Turkey, Iraq, Persia, Afghanistan and, one day, Syria, and possibly, though at a still more distant date, the small Soviet republics to the north-east of Turkey, with the friendship and blessing of England in the background—see, for instance, my letter to Sir Lancelot Oliphant of the 6th June, 1928, and my telegram No. 26 of the 26th June of the same year. The Gazi may not have committed himself definitely to this as his settled policy, but from King Feisal's account he certainly went some way towards it, and he emphasised his disappointment with Russia, the desirability of encouraging Persia to move along the same lines as Turkey and Iraq, and his hopes of a genuine friendship between Turkey and England. King Feisal was evidently both astonished and impressed by his talks with the Gazi, and he told me that he was turning over in his mind whether a visit from him to Tehran next year might not be useful.

3. Obviously a *bloc*, such as described in the preceding paragraph, should it ever come into existence, could either be, as Tevfik Rüstü once said to the late Iraqi Minister, Sabih Bey, "a solid wall for the English," or cause us a good deal of anxious thought. And we could (*a*) try to oppose it, (*b*) give it active encouragement, (*c*) remain entirely aloof, or (*d*) show by our attitude that we believe it to be a policy which makes for stability and peace in the Near East, and with which we are accordingly in sympathy.

4. In my humble opinion, course (*a*) would be both fatal and useless, for the result would be to quicken the advent of the *bloc* and imbue it with a spirit of hostility to us. Course (*c*) would be only a shade less unfortunate. It might make Turkey's neighbours take longer to commit themselves to the Gazi's ideas, but aloofness would certainly be interpreted in Angora as hostility. The time is not ripe for course (*b*), and, indeed, may never be so. Tehran and Moscow have to be considered as well as Angora, as the Gazi has still to discover. But should he bring about a grouping of the Near East, unaggressive and wishful to be friendly to us, determined to maintain its independence and capable of doing so, our attitude should, I venture to think, be that suggested in course (*d*).

5. Later in the evening I had a talk with Nuri Pasha. The Iraqi Prime Minister, while doing full justice to the eminently satisfactory professions of the Turkish Government, was more sceptical as to their performance. The impressions of King Feisal and Nuri Pasha taken together rather resemble my own feelings in my dealings with the Turks. In their foreign policy I find myself

in general agreement with the line they adopt, but in concrete questions between our two Governments I find them obstinate, tricky, unreasonable, and blindly nationalistic, though even then patience and sincerity does sometimes bring them to a more possible frame of mind.

6. I am sending a copy of this despatch to the Acting British High Commissioner at Bagdad.

I have, &c.
GEORGE R. CLERK.

[E 3904/14/44]

No. 5.

Sir G. Clerk to Mr. A. Henderson. (*Received July 27.*)

(No. 240.)

Sir, *Constantinople, July 22, 1931.*

I HAVE the honour to report that on the 21st instant the Grand National Assembly voted the budget for the financial year 1931–32.

2. According to press reports, revenue is estimated at £T. 186,705,580 and expenditure at £T. 186,582,045, representing a reduction of some 16 per cent. on the previous budget.

3. I shall not fail to report the detailed figures as soon as these come to hand.

I have, &c.
GEORGE R. CLERK.

E 4015/1922/44

No. 6.

Sir G. Clerk to Mr. A. Henderson.—(*Received August 4.*)

(No. 248.)

Sir, *Constantinople, July 28, 1931.*

WITH reference to your despatch No. 258 of the 9th May, 1931, I have the honour to transmit to you herewith a valuable and interesting report by Mr. Roberts, first secretary, and Mr. Ravensdale, third secretary, of His Majesty's Embassy, on a tour which they have just made in the eastern vilayets of Turkey.

2. Perhaps the most striking feature of this report is its testimony to the establishment of law and order in these disturbed regions and to the success of the Government in reaching something that looks like a definite liquidation of the Kurdish problem. Climate and geography make the development of economic prosperity a longer and more difficult task, but the report shows that here, too, serious and genuine effort is not lacking, and gives a measure of justification to Ismet Pasha's much-attacked railway policy.

3. I have thanked the Inspector-General of the Eastern Vilayets, the Minister of the Interior, and the Minister for Foreign Affairs for the hospitality and facilities extended to Mr. Roberts and Mr. Ravensdale.

I have, &c.
GEORGE R. CLERK.

Enclosure in No. 6.

Report by Mr. Roberts and Mr. Ravensdale on a Tour in the Eastern Vilayets of Turkey.

Programme of Tour.

THE tour in the eastern vilayets of Turkey, which we have just completed, may be taken for the purposes of the present report as having begun at Feyzipasa, the junction for the new Malatya–Diarbekir line, on the 26th June, and ended at Trebizond on the 11th July. We travelled by rail as far as Malatya, the present terminus, and thence by motor via El Aziz, Diarbekir, Bitlis, Van, Karaköse, Kars and Erzerum to Trebizond, covering, by road, a distance of 1,879 kilom. The

tour was arranged with the Minister of the Interior and the Inspector-General of the Eastern Vilayets, Ibrahim Tali Bey, who was at Angora shortly before our departure, and by the great courtesy of the latter we were received as his guests throughout the vilayets subjected to his control, six out of nine of which we visited.

General Conclusions.

So rapid a tour, carried out under official auspices, could not permit of verifying from independent sources or of collating into a comprehensive survey the material obtained, and we have therefore preferred to eschew misleading generalisations and frame our report as a travel narrative, recording at each place our impressions and the information imparted to us. We have not hesitated to include some account of conditions in the villages where we stayed, as well as the more important centres, believing that the perspective of the picture we have to offer can only gain thereby. A few conclusions of a general nature, however, imprinted themselves upon us, and with these we propose to preface our report, in order that the reader may then judge for himself how far we were justified in forming them. They are as follows:—

1. Until quite recent years the eastern vilayets were, by reason of their remoteness, consistently neglected by the Central Government. The mountainous character of the country rendered communications difficult, and thus hindered both the development of material welfare and the establishment of orderly rule. Successive Russian invasions have not made the task easier, and in the last war the Armenian forces indulged in wholesale destruction as they withdrew, taking with them the last remnants of the Armenian population. The republican régime has attacked these problems with determination. Sheikh Sait's rebellion in 1925 revealed the necessity of radical steps, and the consequent creation of the Inspectorate-General of the Eastern Vilayets, with Ibrahim Tali Bey at its head, has more than justified itself. The vilayets subjected to his authority enjoy a measure of solicitude which never fell to their share at Constantinople, or even in Angora. They are not, as they well might be, the refuge of the incompetent or of the corrupt official, but a regular interchange is maintained with the more attractive western posts, and every civil official, as well as every military officer, must be prepared to do his turn of years in the east, as it is simply called. The *vali*s whom we met made without exception the most favourable impression. For the most part comparatively young men, they know the needs of their province and travel about it as freely as the seasons and the pressure of business will permit. It is currently claimed that in ten years' time the eastern vilayets will have made up the leeway which separates them from the west. That estimate is perhaps over-sanguine, especially in these times of crisis, and indeed the east can perhaps never expect to attain the same degree of prosperity as the more favoured west, but the spirit of confidence in which it has been conceived is of value in itself.

2. The provincial towns are, in varying degrees, forming themselves to play the part of sub-stations to diffuse the new spirit and the new culture which they receive from Angora. Like Angora, with the aspiration of becoming European they are beginning by becoming Balkan—modest, but real progress. The country side is as yet hardly touched by the new ideas, but in course of time it must prove susceptible to the influence of the towns, of the elementary schools which now exist in the larger villages, of the evening courses for adults held in the schools, and of military service.

3. Everywhere the cry goes up for the railway. The railway has captured the Turkish imagination, and all are convinced that it is the one thing necessary to salvation. The extension from Sivas to Erzerum is already up for adjudication, and there is a scheme for constructing, in due course, a branch from Osmaniye, some 63 kilom. north-west of Diarbekir, to Mus and Tadvan at the western end of Lake Van. Given the enormous distances to be covered, the asperity of the winter, and the bulky nature of the principal freight (export of cereals and live-stock, import of building materials, fuel, machinery, &c.), it is hard to cavil at the decision to put railways before roads. Moreover, railways exact a certain minimum standard of upkeep if traffic is to be maintained, while roads are allowed in Turkey to degenerate from bad to dangerous, and from dangerous to impassable, before the necessity of reconstruction is faced. Till the more remote districts are opened up by the railway, exports must remain confined, as they are at present, to those which can reach port or market under their own

power, viz., sheep and cattle. Till, too, these districts can increase their exportable surplus, the peasant will not be able to raise his standard of life by purchasing the products of the outside world. Meat and bread he has in abundance, indeed the prevailing low prices for agricultural produce, and especially cereals, have probably rather tended to increase his home consumption of what it is so little worth while bringing to market. We are satisfied that there is nothing like hardship or famine in the villages, but equally there is no real prosperity. The most elementary minimum of comfort and hygiene cannot be attained so long as, in the almost complete deficiency of timber, houses are built of mud and heated with dried dung. It is to the railway that these districts must look both to cheapen the building materials, fuel, &c., of which they stand in need, and to confer value upon the local produce which they offer in exchange. Something is being done, and much more must still be done, to improve the breed of live-stock and the quality of dairy produce. But even so, given the long winter and the high proportion of mountainous country, leaving only upland plateaux and valley bottoms available for cultivation, it may be permissible to doubt whether the remoter districts (we have in mind primarily the vilayets of Mus, Van, Bayazit and Erzerum) can ever maintain a much higher standard of life than at present, or support a population much in excess of the present scanty numbers. The production of cereals on a large scale being thus problematical, and the raising of live-stock being insufficient alone, the true economic solution would seem to be in a wholesale scheme of afforestation. To a great extent the mountain slopes do not yet appear to be too denuded of soil to allow of this; but the task is so tremendous, and the prospect of returns so remote, that nothing of the kind must be expected in this generation. There exists, it is true, a Tree-lovers' Society (Himayei Escar, or Agaç Koruma Cemiyeti), but its praiseworthy activities do not as yet transcend the plantation of trees to increase the amenities in the immediate precincts of towns and villages.

4. Closely connected with the economic problem is the question of Kurdish unrest. The Kurds have since time immemorial been accustomed to a life of rapine, and the mountains in which they dwell do not yield them adequate sustenance. They therefore, from time to time, have recourse to raids on the more prosperous districts, and they resent the control of a Government which is trying to induce them to abandon their nomadic habits, and endeavours to make them amenable to taxation. They are still, many of them, in the pastoral stage of civilisation, and it seems preposterous to ascribe their periodical outbreaks to the unsatisfied aspirations of Kurdish nationalism, as the Hoybun propaganda from America would do. A people with so low a cultural development, and most of them without any distinction in religion from the ruling race, cannot fail to be absorbed in course of time, and we find little difficulty in believing the assurances we received that the process of Turkification is proceeding steadily. We propose to collect at the end of our report the information bearing on this question which we received at various places.

Fevzipasa to Malatya.

The line, which was constructed by the Swedo-Danish group, has been in operation for some six months. A mixed train runs three times a week in connexion with the Taurus express, and covers the 250 kilom. in twelve hours. The line first descends to cross the marshy plain of the Gâvur Gölü, which bears numerous herds of cattle. Eloglu is the station for Maras, which lies out of sight to the north beyond a low range of hills: it can also be reached from Narli station, where the Maras-Gaziayintap road intersects the railway. Entering a region of mountains covered with sparse scrub, the line now ascends the valley of the Ak Su, passing three lakes, after which, crossing a low watershed, it enters the imposing Kapi Dere defile. At the summit it emerges on to the richly cultivated plateau of Viransehir, whence it gradually descends through bare country to Malatya. The number of passengers travelling was considerable, and the train carried a large number of goods wagons. The theory that Turkey's new railways are primarily strategic in conception seems to break down over this line. In the event of hostilities on the southern frontier the junction at Fevzipasa would be a very weak point, and the sounder strategic access to Malatya would seem to be from Sivas. On the other hand, the line admirably serves the purpose of affording an economical outlet at Mersin to a large and hitherto inaccessible area.

Malatya.

The Vilayet of Malatya, lying to the west of the Euphrates, is not included in Ibrahim Tali Bey's area. (It seems anomalous, therefore, that it should not form part of the Trebizond Mersin consular district.) It is, with Erzerum, far the most populous of the vilayets we visited, numbering 300,000 inhabitants. Its great wealth is the apricot crop, which is raised in the neighbourhood of Malatya itself, and which in a normal year may be expected to bring in the substantial sum of £T. 1 million. Unfortunately, this year the crop is an almost total failure owing to the late snow. Opium is also an important source of revenue, but its price has latterly fallen from £T. 45 to £T. 8 the kilog. In the neighbourhood of Adiyaman, in the south of the vilayet, cotton and tobacco are extensively grown.

As befits the capital of such a vilayet, Malatya is a busy, though hardly a prepossessing, town of 20,000 inhabitants. It has grown up anyhow since the old town, a few miles nearer the Euphrates, was abandoned during its long occupation in the war with Egypt nearly a hundred years ago. Lying in a 25-mile belt of luxuriant apricot orchards, watered by age-old irrigation channels, it is a big straggling village, with narrow winding streets which are the despair of the authorities. But the arrival of the railway has immensely cheapened building material, and the result is already appearing. It is now for the first time possible to bring iron girders, and the price of cement has fallen from £T. 0·10 to £T. 2½ the sack. When the power station was built four or five years ago, the transport of the machinery from Samsun alone cost £T. 50,000, out of a total bill of £T. 320,000. We inspected this extremely modern hydro-electric installation, which was supplied by Siemens-Schuckert, and is superintended by a German engineer. It is the property of a company which holds a concession for fifty years with freedom from taxation, and whose formation was materially assisted by the Government.

Ismet Pasha, when he next visits his home town (he has not been there for several years), will have reason to congratulate himself on the material progress achieved with the aid of his powerful patronage. But it is doubtful whether he will be equally satisfied with the cultural development of Malatya. In marked contrast to the towns across the river where Ibrahim Tali Bey's influence makes itself felt, Malatya is as yet innocent of football, of boy scouts and of modern dancing. On the contrary, it is such a stronghold of Islam that four or five years ago a strikingly handsome new stone mosque was erected out of contributions by the inhabitants. It possesses a secondary as well as an elementary school, and a fine new stone building is being erected to house the latter. The Turkish Ojak, now annexed by the Popular party, is also well-housed, but seemed when we visited it quite deserted. A trachoma clinic cares for the victims of this disease, which arrived during the war from Syria, but it is more prevalent in the south of the vilayet, where the trachoma-fighting organisation is concentrated.

Tevfik Bey, the Vali, came to Malatya eighteen months ago, when his predecessor, Nazmi Bey, was transferred to Gaziayintap. He was formerly Vali and then Mayor of Brusa, of which place he is a native. He has been to Vienna and to Budapest, but appears to speak no foreign language. Plump and neatly turned out, he suggests a prosperous English merchant. His office is kept in spotless order, and he is well posted on all the affairs of his vilayet. Unfortunately, he can only travel once a year, owing to the pressure of work entailed by so populous and productive a district.

The railway is to be completed as far as the Euphrates by the end of August, everything being already finished except for the rails and ballast. About 10 kilom. above the ferry of Izoglu, a reinforced concrete bridge, with three masonry piers in mid-stream, is making good progress, though work has been much delayed by the unusually late flood-water. The Danish engineer in charge told us that it should be ready by this time next year, and that work on the further section of line across the river had just been started.

Malatya to El Aziz.

The road runs through rich rolling country, among treeless hills, till it reaches the Euphrates, which is crossed by a primitive ferry at Izoglu; the stone piers of a bridge which used to exist in the war period may be observed. On the far side the road was for some distance entirely obliterated by torrential rains which had

fallen three days before, and had swept away a Ford car with such violence that nothing but the steering-wheel could be salvaged, which we saw. It now follows the river down-stream on the far side till Kömür Han, where the rapids begin. At the mouth of the defile the railway group is building a road bridge of reinforced concrete, in a single span, which is to be ready in April. From this point the road ascends a tributary, through cultivated but bare country, until ultimately it descends into the fertile plain of El Aziz.

El Aziz.

The population of the Vilayet of El Aziz does not fall very far short of that of Malatya, being some 220,000. The most important crop is cotton, of which 500 tons are produced annually. At El Aziz there is a cotton spinning-mill, for which modern English machinery has been ordered. Samples of the yarn have been sent to England, and pronounced of good quality. The central plain, surrounded by bare mountains, in which the capital is situated is intensively cultivated with cereals, which, however, only serve for local consumption, as the neighbouring vilayets of Sivas, Diarbekir and Erzerum are all large grain-growers. An old project for increasing its fertility by irrigation with the waters of Lake Gölcük has been revived, and a Dutch expert has recently prepared a plan, according to which 600 hundred metres of tunnel and 600 metres of canal would be necessary. The greater part of the north of the vilayet, beyond the Murat Su (the southern branch of the Euphrates), is taken up by the Dersim, a mountainous and purely pastoral district inhabited by Kurds, and distinguished by its oak and walnut woods, its bears and its boars. The famous copper-mines of Ergani (Arghana) Maden lie near the southern limit of the vilayet, and are to be reopened on modern lines when the railway reaches them. At present they are closed, but a daily output of 30 tons is anticipated. They are owned by a company constituted by a German group and by the Is Bankasi which took over the interests of the defunct Milli Ittimat Bankasi.

The town of El Aziz is even younger than Malatya. Some forty years ago the inhabitants of the rocky citadel of Harput, a mile or two to the north, began to come to the conclusion that there was no longer any justification in climbing wearily up to their fastness after the day's labour in the plains, and began to build a new city close to their work. Now only a few thousands are left in Harput, while El Aziz is a thriving little upstart town of 12,000–15,000 inhabitants. It is proud of its wide streets, in which more substantial buildings are gradually taking the place of the original tin-roofed tenements. There is a spirit of energy and progressiveness about, and a determination not to be outdone by Malatya, even though the arrival of the railway has conferred a temporary advantage on this rival, and the favour of Ismet Pasha be long odds to contend against. Already, however, the effect of the railway is making itself felt in El Aziz, where the price of cement has, as in Malatya, fallen very considerably. An electric power-station is now building and plant has been ordered from Ruston and Hornsby, the installation to be effected by Marelli of Milan. A drainage system is being laid down and a water supply system is to follow. Health is on the whole good, trachoma and malaria being slight. In addition to branches of the Ottoman and Agricultural Banks there is a local bank, the El Aziz Iktisat Bankasi, with a capital of £T. 100,000.

In the cultural sphere El Aziz is far ahead of Malatya. Dances are regularly given in winter, there is a troop of boy scouts, and football is now beginning. The former Turkish Ojak still continues to be used as a club. A local branch of the Popular party is shortly to be re-established, none having existed since 1925, when the personnel was sent to work in the west, the need being presumably greater there. In addition to an elementary and a secondary school, El Aziz has been found the most suitable situation for a teachers' training school, an orphanage and a military school.

The Vali, Nizami Bey, is but newly arrived, his predecessor, Fahri Bey, having died a few months ago. He was formerly Vali of Diarbekir, where he met Mr. Edmonds, and recalled with sympathy how the latter was indisposed from a surfeit of buttermilk. He has also been Vali of Van. He is a bachelor, and made us very much at home in his house, inviting the local notables to meet us at dinner, when we were asked if we had brought evening clothes and whether the party should dress for the occasion. He speaks French, and the mayor,

Hurrem Bey, a young man who has recently left the consular service and was consul at Vienna—*cok kibar komiljo bir adam*, as the phrase goes, both French and German. Although by origin from Constantinople, Nizami Bey finds El Aziz very much to his taste, and claims that it is a popular post with all officials. He shares with the Vali of Angora, Constantinople and Smyrna the distinction of having an assistant, which enables him to travel constantly. He is fond of riding and had returned only the previous day from a visit to the Dersim. He appears to be a thoroughly energetic and competent official.

El Aziz to Diarbekir.

The road crosses the plain of El Aziz and winds up the mountains which form its southern boundary. The plain is revealed as a great chessboard, while beyond it the snow-sprinkled mountains of the Dersim close the prospect. After reaching the summit the road descends to the lake of Gölcük which is drained by an artificial channel into the Ergani Su, one of the streams which feed the Tigris. Descending this valley it passes the town of Maden, as it is generally called; half its houses are empty, the population having fallen from 6,000 to 3,000. Sparse and undersized trees are the sole representatives of the forests stripped to find fuel for the copper workings, and the stream, in which no fish can live, runs a brilliant emerald green. Shortly after, the road rises out of the valley and enters the rolling upland plains of Diarbekir, whose rich soil produces abundant crops of cereals in addition to providing pastorage for numerous herds of sheep and cattle. The townlet of Osmaniye lies actually on the road and not to one side, as on the maps (which call it Arghana). Here we first saw maize which we did not meet again till nearing Trebizond.

Diarbekir.

There is little that we can usefully say of Diarbekir, after the ground has been so amply covered by Mr. Helm and Mr. Edmonds. Moreover, the absence of the inspector-general deprived us of the benefit of his views on the situation. Diarbekir is, indeed, as Mr. Edmonds observed, a sort of projection of Angora. The floating population of officers and officials and their wives gives it an air of its own, and after sunset, when the town goes to take the cool of the air in the new "park" outside the El Aziz gate, the number of women in European attire is particularly striking. A military band discourses western music, and the audience seem blissfully uncritical of the doubtful harmonies which assail their ears. Whether the breach in the walls at this point "lets the air into the old town" seems highly speculative; but at any rate the evening air is markedly fresher without than within, and the decision that future building shall take place outside the walls is of unquestionable wisdom. There is still but little progress with this new city, however. The use of mud bricks is now forbidden, and the time is eagerly awaited when the railway will deliver cement at the city's door. At present traffic is by way of Mardin, and there is much dissatisfaction with the delays on that route. Constantinople-brewed ale, which we drank in excellent condition at El Aziz, is but little consumed at Diarbekir, as it is generally spoilt before it reaches there.

The mayor, Dr. Gaffur Bey, is enthusiastic for the welfare of his native town. As a doctor, he is particularly proud of having rendered the water supply healthy and abundant. When the railway reaches Diarbekir, he intends to order pipes of 80 cm. in diameter and convey it in these the whole distance from the Karaca Dag, away in the south-west. For the present he has repaired and closed in the old stone conduit up to a point 3 or 4 kilom. outside the walls, whence it is conveyed the rest of the distance in pipes of smaller diameter. Trachoma and malaria are slight in the vilayet, and good progress is being made towards their eradication. The principal flour-mill of the place has recently been equipped with modern German machinery, and the somewhat primitive electric lighting plant, which suffices only for the streets and a few houses, is also to be modernised. Silk is also manufactured on a small scale, and this, with cereals, sheep and cattle, wool, butter and rice, gives the picture of the vilayet's principal riches. The prevailing low prices for agricultural produce have not as yet caused any real hardship, but some apprehension is entertained of the results if they should continue to fall. We were relieved to hear from Dr. Gaffur Bey that the municipality are fully alive to the historic treasure

which they have in their town walls, parts of which date back to the Seljuk ruler, Melek Salih; the portion which has been demolished was, he said, already ruinous, and no further demolitions will take place.

Notwithstanding the absence of Ibrahim Tali Bey, we were entertained at his house, picturesquely built round a *patio*, as is the local custom, and of the local black volcanic stone, which does such ill service by retaining the heat of the day and radiating it long after sundown. We called upon his deputy, Mumtaz Bey, and also upon the military adviser, Kadri Pasha. The latter made a particularly favourable impression upon us, and seemed to be singularly free of the narrow and suspicious mentality which has so strong a hold on the Turkish General Staff. We derived the further impression that, thanks no doubt to the existence of the post of military adviser, and also to the peculiarly fortunate choice of its occupant, there exists at Diarbekir a happy co-operation between the civil and the military authorities, which is by no means universal.

Diarbekir to Bitlis.

The best summer road does not pass through Silvan, but follows the line of the Tigris at an inconsiderable distance from its north bank as far as the Batman Su, which is crossed by ferry. The Batman Su has its sources in the district known as Sasun, notorious for the Armenian massacres of 1895, and the snow-streaked shape of Meleto Dag, the chief eminence of that region, dominates the country for many a mile. The road now climbs steadily to Garzan: with increasing distance from Diarbekir cultivation becomes rarer and rarer, and the countryside more and more purely pastoral. At Garzan cereals are again in evidence, but production is only sufficient for local consumption, the principal articles of export being sheep, cattle and goats, which in spring are driven southward to Aleppo, and in autumn northward to Trebizond, for the Constantinople market. The annual export from the kaza is in the neighbourhood of 200,000 sheep. Fruit, and especially grapes, are also grown, and despatched to the high country in the north. The Kaza of Garzan, which numbers some 13,000 inhabitants, belongs to the Vilayet of Siirt, which is a centre for the mohair goat second only to Angora, and where very pleasing rugs are made of the mohair, woven in natural colours, the hair being left long on one side. The village of Garzan is situated at the top of a ridge looking southwards; it is a miserably poor and tumbledown place, with a population of only 800, or half its former numbers. We had already entered the war zone, and a little further on, when we had descended to the valley of the Bitlis Su, we reached Zivaret, which was the extreme limit of the Russian advance. Zivaret lies even lower than Diarbekir, and we were glad to escape the torrid heat as we ascended the valley of the Bitlis Su, which still preserves survivals of its one-time forests, very welcome after our journey across the treeless foothills. This road, a very important link in the system of eastern Turkey, is of comparatively recent date, and is as yet somewhat primitive. Shortly before reaching Bitlis we narrowly evaded collision with a horse, which was tethered to the telephone line running alongside the road.

Bitlis.

Of all our tour, it is perhaps of Bitlis that we have the most pleasant memories. The town is grouped round an old citadel rock, whose foot is washed by the Bitlis Su and a tributary stream. It is built wholly of the local reddish-brown stone, and the houses, dispersed over the hillsides, are pleasantly varied with clustering trees. It is a town of many bridges and many springs, including an excellent mineral water. But, alas! it has suffered cruelly in the war, and most of the houses are but empty shells—with 15,000 houses, it counts to-day only 12,000 inhabitants. The population is, however, slowly returning, and last year 100 houses were repaired and reoccupied. Owing to its favourable position, at the junction of the roads to Mus, Lake Van, and Diarbekir and Siirt, Bitlis is a busy mart, and lives largely by its transit trade. This was the only place where we had experience of the old silver reckoning, when we had occasion to make a small purchase in the bazaar. We were told that it extends as far west as Malatya, but not as far north as the Vilayets of Erzerum or Bayazit. The fall in the price of silver, and the refusal of the authorities to accept the old coinage in payment of taxes have raised the rate from 25 silver piastres to the paper pound to 45 silver piastres, and the silver reckoning is

gradually falling out of use. The Kaza of Bitlis produces cereals, fruit and tobacco, but its staple commodities are sheep, cattle and goats.

In the absence on leave of the kaimakam we were received by his deputy, the gendarmerie commandant, Captain Ahmet Nabi Bey, a native of Aydin. Our pleasant memories are in no small measure due to the charm of personality of our host. He gave us the interesting information that, in his experience, crimes of violence were much diminished compared with the past: a quarrel which formerly would have led to blows or worse, would now pass off with nothing worse than an exchange of high words. Other manifestations of increasing civilisation are the growing popularity of football, the establishment of a scout patrol, and the construction of a tennis-court, which is now in hand. Schemes for building a power-station and a flour-mill are under consideration.

Bitlis to Erçis.

The road at first continues climbing, as far as the fork to Mus. The traffic on this section was very intense, and here for the first time we met the two-wheeled country cart, the *kani*: hitherto we had encountered only motor vehicles and pack animals (camels, horses and donkeys). Strange to say, in this part of the world, the *kani* does not emit the inevitable creak which, in Western Turkey announces its passage, and it was not till we struck the Erzerum-Kars road that we heard this familiar sound again. After the way to Mus has diverged, the road attains the basin of Lake Van, with a magnificent prospect of snow-capped Suphan, the highest mountain in Turkey after Ararat and Argæus. We had been advised to take the longer route to Van, round the north side of the lake, but afterwards learnt in Van that the southern route was perfectly passable. Leaving below us and on our right Tadvan, the future terminus of the railway from Osmaniye and Mus, we touched the lake at Ahlat, and closely followed its shore as far as Adilouaz. Both these two places, where Circassian colonies still survive, are surrounded by luxuriant verdure, but, in general, the shores of the lake are bare. The soil is light and sandy, crops are rare, and most of the land is given over to pasture. In the absence of root-crops, a fabulous quantity of hay is required to feed the live-stock through the long winter, and possibly, in view of this, the not very numerous herds which we observed represent the maximum that the land can carry. From Adilouaz the road leaves the shore of the lake and takes the shortest line to Erçis.

Erçis.

Erçis is a village of some 3,000 inhabitants, the capital of a kaza counting 25,000 souls. We were entertained here for the night, as it was impossible to reach Van by the northern route in the day. Cereals and fruit are grown for local consumption, but the great industry, here as in all these mountain regions, is live-stock and especially sheep, which, as noted at Garzan, are exported to Aleppo in the spring and northwards for Trezibond and Constantinople in the summer and autumn. The new Vali is very keen on afforestation, and 3,000 trees were planted here alone this spring. There is an elementary school, and football and scouting are practised. The kaimakam expressed the opinion that from 20 per cent. to 25 per cent. of the population were literate: the schoolmaster, however, considered this figure too low, and declared that in Erçis and neighbouring villages alone, 1,100 adults had obtained their diplomas of capacity to read and write.

Erçis to Van.

The road continues eastwards until it turns the extreme point of the lake at the point where the Bendimahi Çay flows in. Between here and Erçis, a small "arsenal" and dock has been constructed for the diminutive oil-driven vessel which once every ten days plies between Van and Tadvan. It is a legacy of the Russians, to which the Turks have added a couple of barges. There is no other craft of any sort on the lake, the few boats which formerly existed having been destroyed in the war, and the lack of timber being an effective obstacle to the building of new ones. In its spare time the "arsenal" makes an honest penny by the repair of motor cars. Turning westward along the southern side of the

lake, the road soon departs from the shore and passes inland through a district in which abandoned villages are conspicuous until it returns to sight of the lake at Van, whose citadel rock dominates a considerable plain.

Van.

The glory is departed from Van. Bitlis at least keeps up a brave façade, but Van was built of mud, and has returned dust unto dust. These mud houses are claimed to stand for 100 or even 200 years if kept in order, but once the impulse of destruction is given the end is rapid. Van once counted 16,000 houses, pleasantly scattered amid the green and the running water of their gardens. Now we drove for ten minutes through gaunt ruins to the corner where the new town of 5,000 inhabitants has been concentrated. Very wisely a site far from the lake and on rising ground has been selected, and the mosquitos which infest the marshy ground round the citadel hardly reach the new town. Here, too, the population is being slowly swelled, and in the last two years there have been 4,000 new arrivals, either refugees from the Caucasus or old inhabitants returning. The latter like to rebuild on their own land, and the authorities have had to oblige them to settle round the new centre, in order to keep the administration problem within the bounds of possibility. Unfortunately, the new settlers are nearly all agriculturists, and artisans are slow in returning. The vilayet counts only some 80,000 souls, and is chiefly given up to the raising of sheep and cattle. In the lack of communications there can be no question of exporting cereals. For the same reason the best milch cow will not fetch as much as £T. 20. A practicable motor-road exists as far as Baskale, and is being extended to Çaldiran, the capital of the Hakari Vilayet. The winter is long and severe—the lake lies over 1,700 metres above sea-level, but not to the same extent as at Karaköse or Erzerum, and the snow lies only for some three months. A flour-mill is being erected, and there is a branch of the Agricultural Bank. Occasional dances are given at the former Turkish Ojak, and football was inaugurated a week before our arrival, but there is as yet no scout patrol.

The Vali, Mitat Bey, was formerly assistant to the Vali of El Aziz. He is a friendly, energetic and young man, and entertained us with the utmost hospitality. He is but newly arrived, and of the three months which have elapsed since he came has spent one and a half in travelling about his vilayet. The mayor, who is a local man some 45 years old, told us that for as long as he could remember the lake had risen steadily, and that it had advanced some 100 or 120 metres over the low ground at Van. We were also informed that no fish can live in the lake, which has a high soda content, and that they are found only in the rivers which feed it.

Van to Karaköse.

As far as Ercis we retraced our route of the previous day, and from that point engaged upon a road which, rising out of the basin of Lake Van to descend to that of the Murat Su, easily ranks as the worst it has ever been our misfortune to meet. For so essential a link in the road system, it is surprising that it is not more clearly marked and more frequented—we saw but one motor the whole way. Even at a steady speed of between 5 and 10 kilom. an hour we contrived to break a spring, and limped into the village of Patnos, where temporary repairs were effected. Our chances of reaching Karaköse before dark had now vanished, and we resigned ourselves to spending the night at Patnos, where the mudir made us unexpectedly comfortable in his office. Patnos counts a population of 400 or so, and is the centre of a nahiye of some 2,000 souls, comprising ten or twelve villages. It lies among upland pastures at the foot of Suphan Dag, at the junction of the roads to Ercis, Malazgirt and Mus and Karaköse, and lives by its live-stock breeding. The countryside is bare, and attempts at tree-planting have been defeated by the voracity of the goats. The elementary school was recently closed, as the attendance was so poor. The "Koylü Gazetesi," which is published specially for the edification of the peasant, is received gratuitously, but few can read it. The mudir is supplied officially with the "Hakimiyeti Milliye," and no other papers reach the village.

Next morning we left for Karaköse, our course turning northwards at a right-angle to that we had previously followed. The surface was a great improvement on that of the previous day, but the road is, in many places, difficult

to find, being one among a labyrinth of dirt tracks. Tutak, the centre of a kaza, is passed at some distance, on the far side of the Murat Su, and the road then follows this stream through a narrow valley until not far short of Karaköse, when it rises to the village of Hamur, with a distant view of Ararat. In the valley the ground has been levelled and ballast accumulated for a *chaussée*, but all is grass-grown, and the work was very probably carried out by the Russians.

Karaköse.

Karaköse, too, was entirely destroyed in the war. With its new roofs it makes a brave show from afar, but it is, in reality, a very modest place, of some 3,000 or 4,000 inhabitants. The administrative centre was moved four years ago from Bayazit, a place of about the same size, but inconveniently near the frontier and at the extreme end of the vilayet. The latter is, however, still called the Bayazit Vilayet. The largest town is Igdir, across the mountains in the valley of the Aras (Araxes), with a population of 7,000 or so. A more complete contrast of climates within so narrow a space could hardly be imagined. Karaköse, which lies in the centre of a plateau traversed by the numerous head-waters of the Murat Su, and dominated by the imposing mass of Köse Dag (3,400 metres), is some 1,700 metres up and, of all the places we visited, has the most rigorous climate. The snow lies for six months, and the temperature falls to 45° C. below zero; as the mayor phrased it, this is the Turkish Siberia. Even Erzerum, which lies slightly higher, cannot complain of a winter minimum of more than 32° C. But the hardy mountaineers of Karaköse speak with bated breath of the terrors of Igdir; lying only 900 metres above sea-level in the marshy valley of the Araxes, its summer climate is almost tropical, and the place is a hot-bed of malaria, with which practically the whole population is infected. It has no good drinking water, and those who can afford it have theirs brought from Orgof in the mountains. Its principal produce is cotton, with an annual crop of some 3,000 or 4,000 tons, the greater part of which goes across the frontier to Russia. Igdir is therefore at the mercy of the vagaries of the Russian market, and, even if Russia takes the crop, she is not always as regular in her payments as she might be. Igdir also produces some rice, and supplies the rest of the vilayet with fresh vegetables, of which, with the shortness of its summer, it would otherwise be deprived. The mountain districts, which comprehend the greater part of the vilayet, are, like the neighbouring vilayets, given up to the raising of live-stock, which is despatched to Russia and Persia, as well as to Trebizond. The prevalence of cattle plague is, however, at present a considerable embarrassment to the trade. The vilayet is somewhat more populous than that of Van, with 104,000 inhabitants.

Karaköse is to have a flour mill, the engines of which are also to generate electricity for lighting purposes. They are to be of 50 h.p., and are being supplied by Clayton and Shuttleworth, of Budapest. The undertaking is the private venture of a Trebizond capitalist. The sole bank represented at Karaköse is the Agricultural Bank. There is only an elementary school, and the situation at Bayazit and Igdir is the same, but the good folk of the latter have pressed strongly for a secondary school, which is expected to be opened next year. The schoolchildren and the military are now beginning to play football, but scout patrols and dances are as yet unheard of. There is a military hospital, and a new civil hospital was completed last year, but is still awaiting a surgeon. It is to be opened with ten beds in the first instance. The Vali, Ahmet Muhtar Bey, is a middle-aged man, but newly arrived from Antalya; he speaks French. His wife being away taking the waters at Hasankale, he made us extremely comfortable in the substantial stone house, standing in its own garden at the edge of the township, which was built a few years back as an official residence. The poor man looks forward to the winter with some apprehension, but, in common with all the other officials we met, he does not complain, and takes his lot with fortitude as he finds it.

Karaköse to Kars.

It had originally been our intention to proceed to Kars by way of Bayazit, Igdir and Kagizman, but a combination of circumstances induced us to abandon the idea, with great reluctance. No sooner had we reached Karaköse than a storm broke, and during the remainder of the day no little rain fell. This was

a matter of great moment, as from the point at which it diverges from the Erzerum Kars *chaussée* the great Trebizond Tabriz trade route is nothing but a dirt track, the reconstruction of which will not be undertaken till next year. We were, moreover, informed that the road to Bayazit was rough, and from Bayazit to Igdir rougher still, although from that point onwards we should have the benefit of a good *chaussée*. We did not fancy the prospect of further trouble with our patched up spring, or of going still further afield with the chance of being cut off by heavy rain, and so decided to push through by the shortest route to the Erzerum Kars *chaussée*. We crossed without mishap the plain, which but a little more rain would have converted into a morass, and reached Eleskert, which since the war is no longer situated at the place also known as Toprakkale, but has been moved to the site marked on the map as Zerdekan. We now began to climb into the mountains, where to our dismay, we were overtaken by a violent hailstorm, followed by persistent rain. The road became impassable, and we were fortunate in finding a team of oxen and buffaloes handy to drag us over the pass and through the deep clinging mud down the other side to the village of Tahir. Here there was nothing for it but to wait for the weather to clear, which it fortunately did towards evening. We were installed in the guest chamber of the rich man of the village, who was away at Trebizond and found ourselves surprisingly comfortable with the whole floor covered by a fine carpet, and another on the divan which ran the full breadth of the room under the windows. Overhead a flat roof carried by the stoutest of beams to resist the weight of winter snow. Outside, the steady fall of the rain, and our quarters seemed like Paradise. We were told that it was only a fortnight since the snow had melted on the pass we had just crossed, and we recollected that when the Vali of Karadose arrived at his post he had been obliged to travel from Erzerum round by way of Kars, Igdir and Bayazit.

We found unexpected company in the form of a couple of veterinary surgeons on tour and a very friendly young cavalry officer temporarily stationed in the village with a small detachment, who invited us to his tent to drink coffee and afterwards joined us in our chamber at dinner. The rain ceasing, we were privileged to watch from outside the tent a bridal procession arriving from a neighbouring village, where the bride dwelt. Veiled in a brilliant fabric, she rode accompanied by the bridegroom's mother and sister, while to the sound of drum and pipe the menfolk displayed their horsemanship and uttered wild, excited cries. When the bride had been received into the bridegroom's house hard by, one of the men jumped on her horse and made off, soundly belaboured, according to custom, by the rest of those present. The men then took part in a round dance, each with his arm grasping his neighbour's shoulder, much after the fashion of the *kolo* or *horo* of the Balkans.

Tahir, which lies in a hollow among treeless mountain pastures, is a village of some 200 inhabitants only, but it has an elementary school, and we were assured that as many as 70 per cent. of the men and 30 per cent. of the women could read and write, the people being keen to learn and defaulters being subjected to a fine of 125 piastres. It was formerly quite close to the Russian frontier, and we were told that there are still bitter memories of the losses inflicted in successive Russian invasions. Tahir is engaged in the raising of sheep and cattle, and latterly the Government have been trying to introduce the Angora goat. The Government and the Agricultural Bank also send round bulls and rams to improve the breed and distribute seed corn of good quality. The Government have invested in several thousand rams, with a view to increasing the production of butter, and the Agricultural Bank gives the peasant five years' credit for their purchase. The Agaç Koumaa Cemvetti encourages the plantation of trees by the distribution of prizes and medals.

Next morning, to our relief, the sun shone brilliantly, and its drying powers were such that we were able to surmount the Soghanlu Dag Pass without difficulty, after which our troubles were at an end. We found that the route most followed at this season is not that which pots the Erzerum Kars road by the stone bridge at Koprukoy, as shown on the maps, but one which cuts across from Tahirhoca to join that road at Horosan, the nearest point, where it crosses the Araxes by a wooden bridge. We now turned north-eastwards to Kars, climbing steadily out of the valley of the Araxes and reached the old Russian frontier at Karaurgan. Karaurgan is the centre of a native and mixed population of 1,000 inhabitants. It has an elementary school, and the schoolmaster was positive that he had 90 pupils and

that 90 or so male adults and 70 to 80 women were able to read and write, attendance at the evening classes (*milli mektepler*) being compulsory.

The road continues climbing to a summit not far short of Sarikamis. It is accompanied by the narrow-gauge railway from Erzerum; there is a break of gauge at Sarikamis and presumably again at Kars, as the line from one to the other appears to be of a gauge intermediate between the very narrow gauge further west and Russian broad gauge. For some distance on either side of the summit the hills are clothed in luxuriant verdure and capped with considerable pine-woods, which have suffered indiscriminate felling, perhaps during the war, but not in recent years. We were told in Kars that this is prevented by the difficulty of transport, and that the only forestry practised in the neighbourhood is round Artvin, whence the timber is floated down the Coroh to Batum. Sarikamis is still in the forest zone, and lies off the road on the far side of the stream, so that the small military zone comprising the barracks does not inconvenience the passing traveller. It has all the aspect of a small Russian garrison town in decay. The villages through which we now passed were, on the other hand, for the most part indistinguishable from those with which we had become familiar, with their flat roofs and their mud or rough stone walls, the houses scattered in disorder and half sunk in the ground as a protection against the cold. We met, however, with two striking exceptions, after we had left the hills for the bare rolling uplands drained by the Kars Çay. These were the villages of Selim (formerly Novoselim) and Viladikars, whose houses are timber framed, with high-pitched shingle roofs, and are neatly arranged along each side of the straight highroad which is at the same time the village street. These were formerly Molokan villages, a sect whose peculiar tenets, including refusal to perform military service, led the Russians to drive them to the remotest corners of their Empire. There are no Russians left now in Turkey's new provinces, but a few Molokans, forty families or so, who mostly follow the calling of millers or cabdrivers. They have, however, abandoned the villages we saw, which are sparsely tenanted by Turkish refugees from the Caucasus, and reveal the change of masters in their pitiable dilapidation and neglect. Both villages have their elementary school. At Viladikars the military zone of Kars begins, and we were escorted from this point by a military officer. In the other direction it extends as far as Mezre on the railway towards the Russian frontier. Comprised in it are two prohibited areas of the first class, that is, whose access is forbidden to all but the military. One of these runs from the river up to the forts behind the citadel, while the other includes the barracks out by the station.

Kars.

The Vilayet of Kars is a large one, comprising 208,000 inhabitants. A certain amount of agriculture is carried on, but here again the principal occupation is the breeding of sheep and cattle. The breeds are superior, the Russians having seen to their improvement, and a good milch cow will fetch up to £T. 80. Export goes by way of Hopa and also to Russia. There is a cheese factory at Kars, and dairy produce, including excellent butter, is exported. Trade with Russia is largely carried on by barter, manufactured goods being received in return. All along the road we found a lively traffic of Trebizond motor-tenders, but Hopa is the natural outlet on Turkish territory, and work is proceeding to make the road there passable for motor traffic. As far as Ardahan it is in good condition; the section from there to Artvin is to be put in order by the end of this year, and it is hoped to have the new road by way of Borçka through to Hopa by autumn of next year. This route is intended to serve not only as an outlet to the Kars Vilayet, but is also to try and capture some of the Persian transit trade, which would pass from Kars by way of Igdir to Bayazit, a considerable saving of distance on the Trebizond route. Generally speaking, the roads in the Kars Vilayet were by far the best we met, and we observed a number of excellent new bridges, including some fine iron girder bridges.

The blight of the Turkish General Staff is over the town of Kars. Half the town having been interdicted to the civil population, the ruinous dwellings in that section are to be demolished; for Kars, too, was gutted in the war, and to day counts only 12,000 against 40,000 inhabitants in former days; the population is, however, being gradually swelled by refugees from the Caucasus. 2,000 arrived last year, and just before our visit a party of 148 had crossed the frontier. Everywhere it is the same story. the Russians did no more damage than was

inevitable in warfare, but the Armenians when they evacuated the occupied districts indulged in wholesale and wanton destruction. Kars is to-day a most unattractive town. The picturesqueness of the citadel and of the situation have been, like the report of Mark Twain's death, exaggerated. The town in its present form is largely a Russian creation, and at its best must have been a typical Russian garrison town, with an Armenian and a Greek element in the population (we saw churches of both communions). In its present state, with the indispensable minimum of buildings roughly patched up and the rest derelict, it is the abomination of desolation. Such repairs as have been effected are, we were told, largely the work of the last two years. Kars must have been before then a city of the dead—it is by no means a cheerful place even now.

The Vali, Salim Bey, received us in his fine large house, which has been put in excellent repair. He is a lively man nearing the middle age, and is extremely proud of his vilayet, in which he can travel with ease owing to the excellent road system. In the town his position must be distinctly irksome, as even he cannot enter the prohibited area without special permission. The commandant, Fuat Pasha, must inevitably tend to overshadow him, and we gathered that the relations between the civil and military authorities were none too intimate. The officer who escorted us did not even know the Vali's name, though both had been in Kars for some three years. The news of our arrival had been telegraphed by the gendarmerie commandant at Sarikamis to the military authorities at Kars, who had not apparently thought it necessary to acquaint the Vali, until we requested an appointment with him.

Kars boasts as many as three flour mills, though it would be hard to say how they are occupied. There is a primitive oil-driven power station, which is to be replaced by a hydro-electric installation. The Agricultural Bank has a branch, and the Business Bank (Is Bankasi) is just opening one. There is a civil and a military hospital, but there are no endemic diseases. Education is cared for by an elementary and a secondary school, and the Vali claimed that 40 per cent. of the adult population were literate, adding that the vilayet was exceptionally advanced in this respect, and that the desire for education was general. A scout patrol exists, and both school children and soldiers play football. Dancing, as usual in a garrison town, is popular, and dances are held two or three times a month.

Kars to Erzerum.

As far as Horusan we retraced our route of the previous day, and continued thence by Köprüköy to Hasankale. Hasankale is the centre of one of the kazas of the Erzerum Vilayet, and we were informed that the neighbourhood is particularly advanced where education is concerned, there being an elementary school in every considerable village, and 80 per cent. of the population being able to read and write. At this point the military zone of Erzerum begins, and we were escorted by an officer as far as the latter place. On the west the zone reaches as far as Ilica, on the north it extends for a distance of 25 kilom., while on the south the boundary is undetermined, owing to the mountainous nature of the country. It comprises several prohibited areas of the first class, but these are remote from the town proper, and caused us no inconvenience. Both Hasankale and Ilica possess mineral springs, and are frequented by the people of Erzerum.

Erzerum.

The vilayet is a populous one, numbering 300,000 inhabitants. It is engaged in agriculture, and to a more considerable extent in live-stock raising, sheep, cattle wool and dairy produce being exported. The prevailing cattle plague is however a severe handicap to the trade, and the ten cattle and sheep markets which formerly existed in the town of Erzerum have had to be closed. A milch cow of good Russian breed, but inferior to the best at Kars, will fetch up to £T. 60, and gives 10 okes of milk a day, while one of local breed will fetch from £T. 10 20 only, and gives but half the quantity of milk. There is nothing like real distress in the country-side, as is apparent to the most casual observer. The failure to utilise the long winters for weaving home spun is, however, hard to understand, and seems to point to a certain thriftlessness.

The town of Erzerum has repeatedly suffered from Russian invasion, and now counts only 25,000 inhabitants. It maintains several flour mills, and has a modest oil-driven electric plant of 50 h.p. Two more engines of 25 h.p. each have

been ordered at a cost of from £T. 10,000 to £T. 15,000, and a scheme for a hydro-electric installation is being studied. Power is to be taken from a point 22 kilom. distant, and the cost has been estimated at £T. 450,000; the specification is at present being bandied to and fro between the Vali and the Ministry of National Economy, as the firm concerned made the mistake of submitting it in German instead of Turkish. The Ottoman Bank, the Agricultural Bank and the Business Bank all have branches in Erzerum, but there is not nearly enough business to go round, and such as there is, mostly credit to farmers, goes chiefly to the Turkish banks. There is as yet no proper water supply, drinking water being brought from springs in the mountains, but a scheme is under consideration. There is a military hospital and one of the new "model" hospitals (*numune hastahanesi*). Dances are held twice a week in winter, especially at the officers' club. There is also a sports' club, which has its football team independent of the school teams, and the schools have their scout patrols. The Vali, Fevzi Bey, an oldish man and a native of Angora, has been for several years in his present post, and manages to get round his vilayet once or twice during the fine season each year. A new road is being built, he told us, to Hinis in the south. He gave us what seems to be the most reliable, because the most modest and the most detailed, of the widely varying estimates of the state of education which we received from place to place. There are 101 elementary schools in the vilayet, with 8,000 or 9,000 pupils. In the town of Erzerum there are 8 elementary schools, 1 Lycée and 1 boys' and 1 girls' teachers' training school. There is also an orphanage at Kizhatun. Two years ago only 5 per cent. of adults could read and write, and now the number has risen to 10 per cent., so that the Vali hoped that in ten years it would reach 50 per cent. Little or no compulsion is exercised to bring the villagers to the evening classes ("national schools"), but they constitute a centre of attraction, being well lit and warmed, with free writing materials, newspapers, and books. A few even have the wireless.

The Vali told us that the only military zones in Eastern Turkey were those of Erzerum, Sarikamis, Kars and Ararat. The Persian consul, who is at present away on leave and is represented by his secretary, has to obtain permission from the military authorities through the Vali whenever he wishes to leave the town, and to be escorted by an officer. Not long before we arrived a French and a British inspector of the Ottoman Bank had spent six weeks in Erzerum on the business of the bank. The Persian camel drivers on the transit route are all well known to the authorities, having plied their calling for years, and have their own special permits. We visited the commandant, Salih Pasha, and in his absence were received by his principal staff officer, who informed us, to our great satisfaction, that there is no ban on photographing inside Erzerum, as there is at Kars.

Erzerum to Trebizond.

Taking an officer with us as far as Ilica, we crossed the plain of Erzerum till at its northern edge we reached the course of the Firat Su, the northern branch of the Euphrates. The road follows this down-stream for some distance, then crosses it and soon begins to climb to the Kop Pass. The mountains hereabouts have vestiges of former forests on their lower slopes, and we passed endless ox carts carrying miserable oak saplings for Erzerum's winter fuel supply. The Kop Dag, so redoubtable in winter, has no terrors in July, and, though no slight rain had fallen in Erzerum during the day we spent there, the mountains had caught but little of the downpour. The road now runs through bare country down the valley of the Çoroh to Bayburt, near where there is some rich cultivation, and then, climbing to the Vavuk Pass, descends the valley of the Karsut Su to a point beyond Gümüsane. From the summit of the Vavuk Pass onwards the whole character of the scenery is changed; the mountains are serrated and no longer rounded, and their purplish-brown slopes are pleasantly diversified with occasional trees. Gümüsane itself is a most attractive spot; its white houses, with their high-pitched, shingle roofs, peeping out from the luxuriant verdure of the valley bottom, seemed to belong to a different world from that to which we had become accustomed. Reaching a side valley, the Zigana Dere, the road climbs through increasingly frequent patches of forest to the bare summit of the pass, whence it descends through a belt of dense pinewoods to the rich cultivation of the lower slopes and so to Trebizond.

The road is in the main a *chaussée*, in varying stages of repair; over the Kop Pass, and from the Vavuk Pass to the village of Zigana on the landward side

of the Zigana Pass, as in one or two other places, the surface is, however, little better than earth, and would give difficulty after heavy rain. The section between the Yavuk and Zigana Passes is that which has been chosen for starting the work of reconstruction, and the Bayazit vilayet is not to be touched till next year. We found work busily proceeding here, and especially between Gumusane and Zigana village, where in numerous places the road is being widened, banks and rock faces are being cut away and retaining walls constructed. The work is not yet sufficiently far advanced for there to be any question of resurfacing, though ballast is being accumulated

Kurdish Unrest

Already in the Vilayet of Malatya we found that half the population was Kurdish; they speak Turkish in addition to their own language, however, and are all settled, as villagers or workmen. The Vilayet of El Aziz contains the greater part of the ill-famed Dersim district. The Vali told us that the idea of this district entertained in Constantinople as of a nest of brigands where no man could venture his head was quite erroneous. A single mounted gendarme would traverse the length and breadth of the Dersim alone, and the Hungarian engineer employed by the vilayet frequently did so. Last year there had been a few raids towards Erzincan, but nothing on the El Aziz side, and this year complete quiet reigned. It was chiefly an economic problem and the Kurds were occasionally driven by hard times to try a foray; in fact, the story of the Scottish border and of the North-West Frontier in India over again. Indeed, the Kurds were their own worst enemies, as the practice of vendetta was still maintained between the different clans. The Dersim Kurds were all Kizilbas, and now mostly spoke Turkish as well as their own language. The Vali of Van told us that when resistant at El Aziz he had made a special study of the Dersim and that, of 900 odd villages there, some 300 were Turkish, some 200 Zaza and the rest Kurdish, but the Turkish villages were much more populous than the others. He, too, asserted that he could travel anywhere in the Vilayet of Van with but a single gendarme.

At Diarbekir, Mumtaz Bey confirmed what we had been told in Angora, that the interior of the country was quite quiet this year, and that the only trouble was with occasional raids across the Persian frontier; had we wished to go up into that region, it would not have been possible to allow us. The Vali of Van told us much the same, and scouted the notion of any serious warfare or any sustained idea animating the disturbances. The Kurds were, many of them, lawless folk, without any regular means of existence, and accustomed to prey upon their neighbours. The Persians had at first encouraged them to expend their energies across the Turkish frontier, but, now that they had been driven back, the Persians were collaborating in rounding them up and they were having a very thin time. The Turkish Government were discouraging nomadism and trying to help the nomads to find settled occupation (we did not see a single nomad settlement throughout our tour). Everywhere we heard the same story, that the countryside was quite quiet this year. In the Vilayets of Van and Bayazit the roads are, however, closely patrolled by gendarmes, who, on the one occasion when we were able to verify the point, appeared to perform their duties regularly, and not to have been sent out for our especial protection. We saw no troops outside the larger centres. There is a regular, though scanty, traffic of motor tenders on all the roads we covered, which points to a settled state of affairs. But before we left Angora the Minister of the Interior admitted that things were not perfectly normal, and made it clear that we should be travelling at our own risk. Indeed, at the last moment, the Minister for Foreign Affairs addressed to His Majesty's Ambassador a letter in which, while declaring that conditions were incomparably more settled than last year, he admitted that security was not yet perfect and suggested that our tour might, with greater convenience, be carried out next year, though all facilities would be given if we nevertheless decided to proceed with it this year.

At Patnos, Ercis and Karaköse we were able to obtain information which can be pieced together to give some idea of the events of last year. At Patnos we were told that, on the 27th June 1930, a rabble of Kurds, of whom only some 800 were armed, had arrived from the north-east, but did not succeed in entering the village. On the 1st July they made off towards Ercis. At Ercis we were informed that a party of Kurds from across the Persian frontier, estimated at

80 to 100 only, had come within a few kilometres of the village and been driven off after four or five days. Arms were distributed to the villagers; some of the local Kurdish population joined the invaders in the hope of plunder, and retired with them. These were now begging to be allowed to return. At Karaköse we were told that the incidents described above were a first phase, and that there had been a second phase in September, when fighting centred round Mount Ararat. Some of the rebels of Turkish subjection, who had fled to Persia, were now being allowed to return. This year Ararat is said to be entirely quiet and free of rebels, but its declaration as a military zone of the first class shows that the authorities mean to take no risks for the future.

After due allowance has been made for official optimism sufficient grounds seem to remain for concluding that the Government have the Kurdish problem well in hand and, after having re-established order and security with the strong hand, are tackling it at the base by endeavouring to modify the social and economic conditions which have, in the past, made the Kurdish population peculiarly unamenable to the restrictions of settled and civilised life. No doubt this "pacification" has been effected with sternness, not to use a harsher word, and it may well have left a legacy of resentment. But the process of Turkification of the Kurds is on the way, and seems likely to progress to its due conclusion. According to one estimate, 80 per cent. of the Kurds are already able to speak Turkish.

Armenians

After the manner in which the Armenian forces comported themselves when obliged to evacuate the territory which they had occupied, it will cause no surprise that there is not a single Armenian left in those eastern districts where they were most numerous, actually constituting the majority in the neighbourhood of Lake Van. At Garzan we were told that, last year, the few thousand remaining Armenians, who were scattered among the different villages, were told that they could not remain in the countryside, but could settle in the towns if they liked. This offer they refused, and emigrated to Syria in a body. There are still a few Armenians scattered throughout the towns in the vilayets of El Aziz and Malatya, for the latter the number was given us as 2,400. It may be recalled here that a similar number still remain at Kayseri and at Angora.

E 4016 14 44 **No. 7**

Sir G. Clerk to Mr. A. Henderson. (*Received August 4.*)

(No. 249.)

SIR, *Constantinople, July 30, 1931*

WITH reference to my despatch No. 240 of the 22nd July last, I have the honour to transmit herewith tables showing detailed budget estimates of revenue and expenditure for the financial year 1931-32, as compared with the year 1930-31.(1)

2. It will be observed that revenue estimates for the current financial year show a decrease of approximately 16 per cent. compared to those of the preceding year, revenue being estimated at £T. 186,705,599, as against £T. 222,732,000 for the year 1930-31. As announced by the Minister of Finance, during the budget debate, revenue estimates have been based on the actual revenue realised during the year 1930-31, and not, as hitherto, on an average of a series of years.

3. The drop in revenue in 1930-31, as compared to the approved estimates for that period, is due to a decline in all branches of economic activity, and in a lesser degree to the fact that, in the course of 1930-31, legislation reducing certain sources of taxation was approved by the Turkish Government. The extent to which Turkey's exports have fallen is as follows:

	£ T.
1930	151,480,382
1929	155,214,071
1928	173,537,489
1927	158,420,998
1926	186,422,755
1925	192,025,260

(1) Not printed.

1. This contraction of Turkey's export trade, combined with the general drop in world prices last year, has seriously affected the purchasing power of the country. Even should there be a bumper harvest this year, it is very doubtful whether the country's purchase power will show any revival in the immediate future, for the Turkish peasant is indebted to banks and other institutions, and will, therefore, have little to his credit for anything but his immediate and modest requirements.

5. The Minister of Finance, in accepting the actual returns of 1930-31 as a basis for establishing his estimates of revenue and in recognising that the purchasing power and the tax-paying capacity of the country has declined, has shown a sounder conception of the economic conditions of the country than his predecessor, who, during the course of the debates in 1929 on the customs tariff now in force, declared that there would be a large increase in customs revenue as the result of an increase in duties.

6. In order to balance his budget, the Minister of Finance was obliged to recommend to the Cabinet a corresponding cut in expenditure, and much time has been expended in the establishment of the different departmental budgets. Savings have been realised as the result of the suppression of departmental and overseas posts, and by the reduction or cancellation of certain departmental expenditure which did not constitute an urgent necessity. It will be observed by reference to the detailed tables of expenditure that, with the exception of the Departments of Aviation, Justice, Marine and National Assembly, all of which have obtained increased votes as compared to last year, there has been a general cut, particularly as regards the Army, Public Works, National Economy, Finance and Public Instruction.

7. The vote for the Public Debt has also been reduced by £T. 6,570,145. In this vote is included the allocation for the payment of the coupon to the foreign bondholders, which has been reduced from £T. 15,005,447 in 1930-31 to £T. 4,970,000 in 1931-32, a cut of over £T. 10 million, but budgetary provision has had to be made in the current estimates in connexion with the Central State Bank and the Match Monopoly. Nearly one-half of the reduction in the vote for the Ministry of National Defence arises from the fall in the price of wheat and barley, with a consequent saving in the cost of rations and fodder, whilst the Ministry of Public Works has been able to reduce its expenditure by reason of the fact that the Angora-Sivas line, constructed by the Government itself, has been completed.

8. For purposes of comparison the following table shows the percentage of the principal departmental votes to total expenditure during the present financial year and the two preceding years:—

	1931-32 Percentage	1930-31 Percentage	1929-30 Percentage
National Defence	32·0	30·0	31·40
Gendarmerie ..	4·70	4·0	4·0
Public Security	2·24	2·0	2·0
Public Works	14·0	14·83	15·30
National Economy	4·56	6·0	3·80
Education	3·52	3·70	3·70
Justice	4·0	3·17	3·30
Finance	6·53	7·57	7·0
Public Debt			
External debt	2·66	7·0	6·20
Pensions	6·30	5·15	5·80
Interior loans and Agricultural and State Banks	1·90	0·70	0·70
Bank of Zurich and Match Monopoly	3·0	1·80	1·90
Other departments	14·59	13·78	14·90

I have, &c.
GEORGE R. CLERK.

E 4254/1234/44] No. 8.

Sir G. Clerk to Mr. A. Henderson.—(Received August 17.)

(No. 266.)

Sir, *Constantinople, August 13, 1931.*

WITH reference to my despatch No. 243 of the 25th July last, relative to the Turco-Soviet Commercial Treaty, I have the honour to inform you that the text of this treaty has now been published in the Turkish "Official Gazette."

2. A French translation of the published text, which was furnished to the commercial secretary to His Majesty's Embassy by a member of the staff of the Ottoman Bank, is enclosed herein, together with a memorandum drawn up by Colonel Woods.

3. The treaty, which covers conditions of residence, commerce and navigation, is framed on the lines of other treaties which the Turkish Government have negotiated during the last two years, but it does not contain any agreement regarding the treatment of commercial samples; moreover, no provision is made for the protection of trade marks and industrial property, nor are there any clauses relating to the mutual recognition of consular officers.

I have, &c.
GEORGE R. CLERK.

Enclosure 1 in No. 8.

(Translation.)

Traité de Commerce et de Navigation entre la République de Turquie et l'Union des Républiques socialistes soviétiques.

LA République de Turquie, d'une part, et l'Union des Républiques socialistes soviétiques, d'autre part, désireuses de raffermir les relations amicales existant heureusement entre elles et de contribuer au développement des rapports économiques des deux pays et aussi de régler les conditions de séjour de leurs ressortissants dans leurs pays, ont décidé de conclure un traité de commerce et de navigation et, dans ce but, le Président de la République de Turquie a nommé comme son représentant

Son Excellence Hussein Raghib Bey, Ambassadeur de Turquie en U.R.S.S.

Le Comité central de l'U.R.S.S.

M. Léon Karakhan, Commissaire adjoint du Peuple aux Affaires extérieures.

Ceux-ci se sont transmis leurs lettres de pouvoirs, qu'ils ont trouvées en règle et valables et ont arrêté les clauses ci-après:

ARTICLE 1er.

Les compatriotes de l'une des parties contractantes, à la condition de se conformer aux lois, règlements et instructions en vigueur ou qui seront mis en vigueur sur le territoire de l'autre partie et concernant la réception, la circulation, l'habitation et le départ des étrangers, auront le droit, aux mêmes conditions que les compatriotes de n'importe quel pays étranger, d'entrer dans ce territoire, d'y circuler, d'y demeurer et de le quitter.

Il est, toutefois, entendu que les clauses du présent traité ne préjudicient en rien le droit de chacune des parties contractantes d'autoriser ou de refuser la libre entrée des émigrés dans leur pays, ni les règlements en vigueur ou qui seront mis en vigueur au sujet des passeports, visas et permis de séjour.

Chacune des parties contractantes se réserve le droit d'interdire l'installation ou le séjour sur son territoire et d'expulser de son territoire les compatriotes de l'autre partie, soit par suite d'un jugement de tribunal, soit en conformité des lois et règlements administratifs, soit pour les motifs se rapportant à la sécurité intérieure de l'Etat.

ARTICLE 2

Les compatriotes de chacune des parties contractantes, en entrant, conformément à l'article 1 du présent traité, sur le territoire de l'autre partie et aussi en en sortant auront le droit de faire entrer ou de faire sortir leurs effets personnels et ce en se conformant aux lois et règlements *ad hoc* existant dans les pays d'entrée et de sortie. A ce sujet, les compatriotes de chacune des parties contractantes ne seront pas assujettis à des conditions moins favorables que les conditions auxquelles sont ou seront soumis les compatriotes de la nation la plus favorisée.

ARTICLE 3

Les compatriotes de chacune des parties contractantes qui habitent sur le territoire de l'autre sont soumis à la juridiction des tribunaux du pays qu'ils habitent.

Lesdits compatriotes pourront, tant comme demandeurs que comme défendeurs, recourir librement aux tribunaux de tous degrés, d'une façon générale, dans les questions de protection légale et judiciaire. Ils bénéficieront des droits octroyés ou qui seront octroyés aux compatriotes de la nation la plus favorisée.

Les questions se rapportant à la garantie pour amiante des frais de procès et à la prédation seront entièrement réglées par les dispositions établies par les parties contractantes et ce, jusqu'à ce qu'un accord particulier soit conclu entre elles.

Les questions se rapportant aux droits de la famille, à la compétence, de même que celles concernant l'héritage au moyen d'un testament ou sans testament, feront l'objet d'un accord particulier à conclure entre les parties contractantes.

ARTICLE 4

Les compatriotes de chacune des parties contractantes seront, sur le territoire de l'autre, exempts de tout service obligatoire aussi bien dans l'armée de terre, l'aviation, la marine que dans la milice et la garde nationale. Ils seront, de même, exemptés de toute taxe en espèces ou en nature établie en compensation de l'un des services énumérés ci-dessus.

De même, lesdits compatriotes seront exemptes de toutes les fonctions officielles et obligatoires, soit judiciaires, soit administratives, soit édilitaires.

En cas de catastrophe provenant des éléments naturels les compatriotes de l'une des parties contractantes seront astreints sur le territoire de l'autre à l'obligation du travail.

Dans les affaires d'impositions pécuniaires, d'appropriations militaires, de même que dans celles des taxes et impositions pour les besoins militaires, les compatriotes de l'une des parties contractantes ne seront pas soumis, sur le territoire de l'autre, à des conditions moins favorables que celles auxquelles sont soumis ou seront soumis les compatriotes du pays le plus favorisé.

ARTICLE 5

Pour ce qui concerne l'acquisition, l'appropriation et la possession de biens-meubles et immeubles, chacune des parties contractantes accorde mutuellement aux compatriotes de l'autre le traitement de la nation la plus favorisée.

ARTICLE 6

Conformément aux dispositions de l'article 1er du présent traité, les compatriotes de chacune des parties contractantes ayant pénétré sur le territoire de l'autre, se conformant aux mêmes principes que ceux appliqués à l'égard des compatriotes de la nation la plus favorisée, pourront se livrer sur ce territoire à une activité industrielle et commerciale et à un travail intellectuel et corporel.

Les parties contractantes tiendront d'après les lois et règlements en vigueur ou qui seront mis en vigueur sur leur territoire, réservés à leurs propres compatriotes les métiers ambulants, la vente sur pied, de même que n'importe quel autre métier ou profession qu'elles jugeront opportun.

ARTICLE 7

Les personnalités morales de toutes sortes instituées suivant les lois en vigueur, dans un but de commerce ou d'industrie, sur le territoire de l'une des parties contractantes, seront reconnues sur le territoire de l'autre comme des personnalités morales et auront spécialement le droit de recourir aux tribunaux en qualité de demanderesse et de défenderesse.

Il est entendu que les dispositions ci-dessus n'ont aucun rapport avec la question de savoir si une personnalité morale constituée sur le territoire de l'une des parties contractantes sera admise ou non à exercer ses opérations sur le territoire de l'autre partie. Ceci dépend toujours des dispositions légales en vigueur ou qui entreront en vigueur à ce sujet sur ce dernier territoire.

Au cas où, suivant les lois générales en vigueur pour l'admission des personnalités morales étrangères à exercer leur activité sur le territoire de l'une ou de l'autre des parties contractantes, il serait nécessaire d'obtenir une autorisation préalable, l'admission de chaque personnalité morale de chacune des parties contractantes sur le territoire de l'autre sera subordonnée à l'obtention d'une autorisation préalable.

Il est, toutefois, entendu que, pour ce qui concerne les formalités officielles nécessaires à l'admission des personnalités morales de l'une des parties contractantes sur le territoire de l'autre ces personnalités morales ne seront pas laissées dans une situation moins favorable que celle accordée ou qui sera accordée aux personnalités morales de la nation la plus favorisée.

Il est entendu que les personnalités morales de chacune des parties contractantes admises, suivant les dispositions du présent article, à exercer sur le territoire de l'autre bénéficieront sur ce territoire du traitement de la nation la plus favorisée.

ARTICLE 8

Les compatriotes de l'une des parties contractantes admis sur le territoire de l'autre ne seront soumis, dans les mêmes conditions, ni à d'autres impôts ni à des impôts plus élevés que ceux auxquels sont ou seront soumis les compatriotes de la nation la plus favorisée, pour ce qui concerne leur personne, leurs biens ou leur activité sur ce même territoire.

Les personnalités morales constituées sur le territoire de l'une des parties contractantes et admises sur celui de l'autre partie pour exercer leurs opérations, ne seront soumises, dans les mêmes conditions, ni à d'autres impôts ni à des impôts plus élevés que ceux auxquels sont ou seront soumises les personnalités morales, constituées dans le même but économique, de la nation la plus favorisée, pour ce qui concerne leurs biens ou leur activité ou quelque autre point.

Les dispositions du présent contrat s'appliquent aux impôts et taxes perçus au nom de l'Etat de même qu'à ceux perçus au profit des municipalités et des corporations.

ARTICLE 9

La U.R.S.S., le commerce extérieur appartenant au monopole d'Etat, le Gouvernement de la République de Turquie accorde à la représentation commerciale de l'U.R.S.S. et à son organisation indiquée aux articles 10 à 14 le pouvoir d'exercer les attributions suivantes en territoire turc:

a) Dans les affaires se rapportant au commerce extérieur, veiller aux intérêts de l'U.R.S.S.

b) Organiser, conformément aux clauses du présent contrat, le commerce extérieur et l'échange des marchandises entre la Turquie et l'U.R.S.S.

c) Effectuer le commerce extérieur du Gouvernement de l'U.R.S.S. et contribuer au développement des rapports commerciaux entre la Turquie et l'U.R.S.S.

ARTICLE 10

La représentation commerciale en Turquie de l'U.R.S.S., dont le siège est à Ankara, forme partie intégrante de l'Ambassade de l'U.R.S.S. en Turquie. Le représentant commercial et ses deux adjoints, faisant partie du personnel de l'Ambassade, bénéficieront de l'immunité individuelle et des autres pouvoirs et privilèges accordés aux membres des missions diplomatiques.

ARTICLE 11

Le local d'Ankara et celui de la succursale d'Istamboul de la représentation commerciale jouiront du privilège de l'exterritorialité.

Ce privilège de l'exterritorialité n'empêchera pas l'application de l'article 12

ARTICLE 12

Les formalités juridiques exécutées en Turquie par la représentation commerciale et les résultats économiques de ces formalités seront assujettis aux lois turques et seront instruites par devant les tribunaux turcs.

De même la saisie des biens de l'Union des Républiques socialistes soviétistes se trouvant en Turquie sera permise, pour autant qu'il ne s'agit pas d'objets destinés à servir, d'après le droit international, à la représentation de la souveraineté du Pays ou à l'activité officielle des représentants diplomatiques ou consulaires.

ARTICLE 13

Etant donné que la représentation commerciale en Turquie de l'U.R.S.S. agit au nom et pour compte de l'U.R.S.S., le Gouvernement de l'Union assume la responsabilité découlant de toutes les affaires commerciales conclues d'une façon légale en Turquie par la représentation commerciale ou par les personnes dûment munies de son autorisation. Toutefois, le Gouvernement de l'U.R.S.S. n'assume aucune responsabilité provenant de l'activité des formations économiques de l'Etat qui, d'après les lois de l'U.R.S.S., sont seules responsables de leurs opérations. Sont exceptés cependant les cas où la responsabilité de ces opérations est assumée d'une façon spéciale par la représentation commerciale agissant au nom et pour compte du Gouvernement de l'U.R.S.S. Durant tout le délai du traité, la Turquie bénéficiera à ce sujet du système de la nation la plus favorisée.

ARTICLE 14

Les parties contractantes sont tombées d'accord comme quoi la représentation commerciale de l'U.R.S.S. profitera du droit d'ouvrir des succursales dans les villes et ports de Turquie indiqués ci-après: Istamboul, Smyrne, Trébizonde Merdine, Erzéroum, Konia ou Eskichehir.

L'ouverture de nouvelles succursales fera l'objet d'un accord entre les deux Gouvernements.

ARTICLE 15

Au cas où, dans le but de contribuer au développement des rapports commerciaux entre les deux pays et aussi de veiller aux intérêts économiques turcs sur le territoire des Soviets, le Gouvernement de la République de Turquie nommerait en U.R.S.S. un représentant commercial (ou qu'il créerait une charge d'attaché commercial ou un poste similaire), ce représentant (charge ou poste) et ses sous-ordre bénéficieront des mêmes droits, privilèges et immunités que ceux accordés par les articles 10 et 11 du présent traité à la représentation commerciale de l'U.R.S.S. en Turquie.

ARTICLE 16.

A l'exception des interdictions et restrictions qui pourront être appliquées dans l'intérêt de la santé publique, de la sécurité de l'Etat et pour la protection des animaux et plantes et à condition qu'elles seront étendues en même temps et de la même manière à d'autres pays étrangers se trouvant dans les mêmes conditions, chacune des parties contractantes s'engage de n'imposer aucune restriction ou interdiction aux importations faites du territoire de l'autre partie, ou aux exportations faites au territoire de cette partie, à moins que cette restriction ou interdiction ne soit pas appliquée à tous les autres pays étrangers quelconques.

ARTICLE 17

Les produits du sol et les produits industriels de chacune des parties contractantes seront acceptés sur les routes de l'autre partie ouvertes au transit et conformément aux règlements généraux de cette partie et lesdits produits seront exempts sur ce territoire de tous droits de transit

En dehors des dispositions du premier paragraphe de cet article, le Gouvernement de l'U.R.S.S. consent à accorder à la Turquie le libre droit de transit pour les marchandises dont les lieux de départ et d'arrivée sont la Turquie et qui sont expédiées par voie de Batoum aux pays asiatiques, de même que pour les marchandises dont les lieux de départ et d'arrivée sont la Turquie et qui sont expédiées par voie de Batoum des vilayets occidentaux aux vilayets orientaux et des vilayets orientaux aux vilayets occidentaux de la Turquie

ARTICLE 18.

Sur les voies ferrées, sur les routes de terre et les eaux intérieures des deux parties, pour ce qui concerne le transport des voyageurs, des effets de ces derniers et des marchandises il ne sera mis aucune distinction entre les populations des territoires des deux parties.

Il est superflu de déclarer que les dispositions du premier paragraphe de cet article ne portent pas atteinte au droit des parties contractantes d'élaborer les tarifs qu'il leur plaira sur leurs voies de transport

ARTICLE 19.

Les navire et bateaux portant le pavillon de l'une des parties contractantes qui entreront, soit vides ou chargés dans les eaux et ports de l'autre partie, ou qui en sortiront, quel que soit le lieu de leur départ ou celui de leur destination, n'auront, sous tous les rapports, du même traitement que les bâtiments nationaux et n'y seront assujettis à aucun droit ou taxe, sous quelque dénomination que ce soit, perçu au nom ou au profit de l'Etat, d'une province, d'une commune ou d'un organisme quelconque autorisé par le Gouvernement, autres que ceux qui sont ou pourront être imposés aux bâtiments nationaux

Les cargaisons, quelles qu'en soient la provenance ou la destination, ne seront pas sujettes à des droits ou charges autres ni plus forts et ne seront pas traitées autrement que si elles étaient importées ou exportées sous pavillon national. Les passagers et les bagages de ceux-ci seront pareillement traités comme s'ils voyageaient sous pavillon national

ARTICLE 20

Le traitement national accordé, suivant les dispositions de l'article 19, de la part de l'une des parties contractantes à l'autre ne sera pas étendu aux services énumérés ci-après et qui continueront à être régis par les lois et règlements en vigueur ou qui seront mis en vigueur dans les pays possédant des intérêts mutuels

(1) Au cabotage.
(2) A la pêche dans les eaux territoriales des parties contractantes, de même que dans la mer de Marmara;
(3) Aux avantages accordés ou pouvant être accordés sous forme de prime ou de secours de la part de chacune des parties contractantes à leurs ressortissants, dans le but d'encourager le développement de la marine marchande,
(4) Aux privilèges accordés aux associations de sports nautiques;
(5) A l'exécution des services maritimes des ports, des rades et des plages, de même qu'aux services de sauvetage, de secours maritime, de pilotage et de remorquage.
(6) A l'emploi de pilotes;
(7) Aux rabais accordés par le Gouvernement de la République de Turquie sur les droits du phare aux bâtiments battant pavillon national et faisant régulièrement le service du transport des valises postales turques entre les ports turcs.

ARTICLE 21

La jaugeage des voiliers et bateaux à vapeur sera considérée par toutes les deux parties valable d'après les documents et certificats délivrés à ce sujet par les départements compétents des Etats respectifs, conformément aux lois et règlements de chaque pays

Les parties contractantes s'engagent à conclure un accord spécial pour reconnaître mutuellement les certificats indiquant la situation technique du bâtiment, son tonnage ratifié, sa capacité de navigation et d'autres documents similaires du bord. Jusqu'à la conclusion d'un tel accord les deux parties contractantes s'engagent à reconnaître mutuellement les susdits documents du bord délivrés dans la règle par l'une des parties.

ARTICLE 22

Les bâtiments de chacune des parties contractantes pourront se rendre dans l'un ou plusieurs ports de l'autre partie, soit pour y débarquer ou décharger la totalité ou une partie des passagers et des marchandises apportés des pays étrangers, soit pour y embarquer ou charger la totalité ou une partie des passagers et des marchandises à destination de l'étranger.

ARTICLE 23

En cas de naufrage, échouement, avarie en mer ou relâche d'un bâtiment ressortissant de l'une des deux parties contractantes, dans les eaux de l'autre, le bâtiment et sa cargaison jouiront des mêmes faveurs et avantages que les lois et règlements de chacun des pays respectifs accordent dans les circonstances analogues aux bâtiments nationaux; aide et assistance seront données, dans la même mesure qu'aux nationaux, au capitaine, à l'équipage et aux passagers, tant pour eux-mêmes que pour le bâtiment et sa cargaison.

En ce qui concerne le droit de sauvetage, il sera fait application de la législation du pays où le sauvetage a eu lieu.

Les marchandises sauvées d'un bâtiment échoué ou naufragé ne seront assujetties à aucun droit de douane, à moins qu'elles ne soient introduites dans le pays pour la consommation intérieure.

ARTICLE 24

Pendant toute la durée du présent traité, les produits du sol et industriels de l'U.R.S.S. qui seront directement introduits en Turquie ne pourront pas être soumis, lors de leur importation, à des droits de douane différents ou plus élevés que ceux qui sont ou qui seront perçus sur les produits similaires d'un tiers pays quelconque.

ARTICLE 25

Pendant toute la durée du présent traité, les produits du sol et industriels de la Turquie qui seront directement introduits en U.R.S.S. ne pourront pas être soumis, lors de leur importation, à des droits de douane différents ou plus élevés que ceux qui sont ou qui seront perçus sur les produits similaires d'un tiers pays quelconque.

ARTICLE 26

Les impôts, taxes et droits intérieurs perçus ou à percevoir sur le territoire de l'une des parties contractantes au profit de l'Etat, des municipalités ou des corporations, sur la production, la vente, la consommation et le transport d'une marchandise quelconque, ne seront pas appliqués plus lourdement que ceux auxquels sont soumis les produits du sol et industriels de l'autre partie, les produits similaires d'origine nationale et, au cas où il n'y aurait pas de produits nationaux similaires, les produits du tiers pays jouissant des conditions les plus favorables.

ARTICLE 27

Dans les questions de garantie du mode de perception des droits de douane et d'autres formalités douanières relatives aux importations et exportations, chacune des parties contractantes accorde à l'autre le droit de profiter de tous les avantages qu'elle accorde ou qu'elle accordera plus tard à n'importe quel autre pays.

ARTICLE 28.

Chacune des parties contractantes, lors de l'importation des produits du sol et industriels de l'autre partie, se réserve le droit de réclamer l'exhibition d'un certificat d'origine indiquant que la matière importée est de production ou de fabrication nationale dudit pays, ou qu'elle doit être considérée comme telle du fait de la transformation subie dans ledit territoire.

Les certificats d'origine des marchandises de l'U.R.S.S. seront délivrés en U.R.S.S. par le Commissariat du Peuple du Commerce extérieur et de l'Alimentation et leurs formations, ainsi que par les chambres de commerce des Soviets; ceux des marchandises de Turquie par le Commissariat de l'Economie et ses formations locales, ainsi que par les chambres de commerce turques.

La forme des certificats d'origine concernant les marchandises exportées de l'U.R.S.S. en Turquie, aussi bien que celle des certificats d'origine des marchandises importées de Turquie en U.R.S.S., sera fixée d'un commun accord par les deux parties.

Pour tout ce qui concerne la délivrance et la ratification des certificats d'origine, les parties contractantes sont tombées d'accord pour appliquer la clause de la nation la plus favorisée.

ARTICLE 29

Les clauses du traitement de la nation la plus favorisée contenues dans le présent contrat ne s'étendent pas :

(1) Aux faveurs que chacune des parties contractantes accorde ou accordera dans l'avenir pour faciliter le commerce dans la zone-frontière à certains pays possédant des frontières communes;

(2) Aux faveurs spéciales résultant d'une union douanière;

(3) Aux faveurs accordées ou qui seront accordées dans l'avenir par l'U.R.S.S. aux pays dont les terres faisaient partie intégrante de l'ancien Empire russe à la date du 1er août 1914;

(4) Aux faveurs spéciales existant ou qui seront instituées dans l'avenir entre la Turquie et les pays qui se sont détachés de l'Empire ottoman en 1923.

ARTICLE 30.

Le présent traité sera ratifié et les ratifications seront échangées avec toute la célérité possible à Ankara.

Ce traité entrera en vigueur dans l'espace d'un mois à partir de la date de l'échange des ratifications.

A l'expiration d'une année à partir de la mise en vigueur du traité, chacune des parties contractantes pourra informer l'autre de son intention de mettre fin aux clauses dudit traité. Toutefois, à dater du jour où une telle communication sera faite de la part de l'une des parties contractantes, le traité restera encore pendant six mois en vigueur.

En vue de ratifier les clauses qui précèdent les délégués susnommés ont signé et scellé le présent traité.

Fait, en double exemplaire à Moscou, le 16 mars 1931.

L. KARAKHAN HUSSEIN RAGHIB

Protocole final

Au moment de signer le traité de commerce et de navigation conclu en date de ce jour entre la Turquie et l'U.R.S.S., les délégués soussignés ont formulé les affirmations et réserves ci après et qui constituent la partie complémentaire du traité

Ad *Article* 1er

Il est entendu que les clauses de cet article, indépendamment des autres clauses du présent article, ne limitent pas la liberté de chacune des parties contractantes d'établir un système spécial pour pénétrer aux diverses zones de son territoire au cas où une telle interdiction serait appliquée à l'égard des ressortissants de tous les autres pays.

Le Gouvernement de la République de Turquie déclare que, dans les questions se rapportant à la protection de la main-d'œuvre nationale, les clauses de l'article 6, paragraphe 2, conservent leur force

Ad *Article* 7

Les clauses de l'article 7 ne concernent pas la représentation commerciale et ses agents en Turquie de l'U.R.S.S., dont le système auquel ils seront soumis est défini par les articles 9-14.

Les dispositions des articles 3, 4 et 5 du présent traité seront appliquées également aux personnalités morales de l'une des parties contractantes sur le territoire de l'autre

Ad *Articles* 7, 8 *et* 10

Par le terme "personnalités morales," on entend, d'une part, les sociétés commerciales, industrielles, financières et de transports turques et toutes autres sociétés constituées dans un but économique quelconque et, d'autre part, les organisations soviétiques commerciales, financières, industrielles et de transports et toutes autres organisations formées dans un but économique quelconque

Ad *Article* 16

Le Gouvernement de l'U.R.S.S. déclare que n'importe quelle mesure qui serait adoptée par lui concernant l'interdiction de l'exportation d'armes, de munitions, d'engins de guerre ou, par extraordinaire, de toute autre munition de guerre, ne pourra pas être appliquée à l'égard de la République de Turquie, tant que la mesure en question ne sera pas étendue, sans aucune exception, à tous les pays étrangers

Ad *Article* 17.

Il est entendu que, dans les questions concernant le transit sur les routes indiquées à l'article 17 des produits du sol et industriels de Turquie, l'U.R.S.S. se réserve le droit de réclamer, à leur entrée sur son territoire, l'exhibition d'un certificat d'origine établissant que ceux-ci sont bien des produits du sol et industriels de Turquie.

Les certificats d'origine seront délivrés par le Ministère des Travaux publics et ses organisations locales et par les chambres de commerce turques

Lesdits certificats seront visés en Turquie par la représentation commerciale de l'U.R.S.S. ou ses filiales et, dans les endroits où il n'en existe pas, par les consulats de l'U.R.S.S.

Il est entendu que les dispositions de l'article 17 ne s'étendent pas aux marchandises dont l'entrée est interdite dans le pays opposé, d'après les règlements en vigueur dans ce pays.

Indépendamment des dispositions de l'article 17, l'U.R.S.S. consent, conformément aux règlements de l'Union en vigueur à ce sujet, à accorder à la République de Turquie le droit de transit aux marchandises originaires de pays étrangers ayant un traité de commerce avec l'U.R.S.S. et devant être expédiées des vilayets occidentaux aux vilayets orientaux de la Turquie

Ad *Article* 18

Dans les questions de transport des marchandises de l'une des parties contractantes sur les voies ferrées de l'autre il sera appliqué les tarifs les plus bas pratiqués dans les mêmes conditions sur le même parcours et dans la même direction

En vue de faciliter et de développer les rapports économiques mutuels des deux pays, les parties contractantes ont décidé d'entrer en pourparlers pour établir des communications directes aux frontières de la Transcaucasie entre la Turquie et l'U.R.S.S., de façon à transporter les marchandises sans transbordement et les voyageurs sans leur faire changer de wagon

Ad *Article* 19.

Les parties contractantes se sont mises d'accord pour recommander à leurs administrations compétentes d'observer absolument la règle d'aviser l'autre partie de la pose de signaux de danger dans les eaux territoriales des États respectifs du service des phares et de tous les autres changements pouvant survenir dans lesdits services.

Ad *Article* 25

Les raisins secs (sultanines) de Turquie ne seront pas soumis à des droits de douane, à des surtaxes et similaires, ni à quelque autre formalité moins favorables que ceux accordés ou qui seront accordés dans l'avenir aux raisins de Corinthe en U.R.S.S.

Ad *Article* 27.

Il est entendu que les caisses, sacs et autres introduits de l'U.R.S.S. en Turquie et utilisés pour l'empaquetage des marchandises achetées en Turquie par la représentation commerciale de l'U.R.S.S. et son organisation économique sous réserve d'être réexportés au plus tard dans six mois, ne payeront pas de droit de douane. Pour ces objets on devra déposer, au moment de l'importation, un cautionnement équivalent au droit de douane et, lorsque ceux-ci seront réexpédiés dans le délai fixé ci-dessus et qu'il sera établi à l'examen qu'ils sont les mêmes, ledit cautionnement sera restitué

Ad *Article* 28

Le terme "transformation" du paragraphe premier de l'article 28 implique, pour les marchandises d'origine étrangère introduites dans le territoire de l'une des parties, une augmentation de 50 pour cent de leur valeur du fait de travaux manipulations et perfectionnements subis après leur introduction

Fait, en double exemplaire, à Moscou, le 16 mars 1931.

L. KARAKHAN HUSSEIN RAGHIB

Enclosure 2 in No. 8

Memorandum on the Turco Soviet Treaty.

THIS treaty covers conditions of residence, commerce and navigation, but no reference is made therein to the treatment of samples and the protection of trade marks and industrial property.

2. Most-favoured-nation treatment is reciprocally granted as regards residence and commerce, national treatment in respect to navigation and most favoured-nation treatment in matters of interior taxation.

3. Diplomatic privileges are granted to the head of the Soviet trade delegation and to his two assistants, and both the Angora and Istanbul offices of the delegation will benefit by exterritorial rights. There are no clauses in the treaty relative to the mutual recognition of consuls.

4. The treaty will come into force one month after the date of the exchange of ratifications and will remain in force for a period of one year. It is subject to six months' notice of denunciation, but it will remain in force indefinitely until denounced

5. Free transit through Soviet territory is granted to merchandise of Turkish origin consigned to Asiatic countries, and similar facilities are granted to Turkish merchandise despatched viâ Batoum from the eastern vilayets to the western, and *vice versâ*, and by virtue of paragraph 3 of *ad* article 17 of the protocol, the produce and manufacture of those foreign countries having commercial treaties with Soviet Russia will likewise be accorded free transit through Soviet territory when consigned to the vilayets referred to above.

Ad *Article* 16 *of the Protocol*

Soviet Russia undertakes in the case of the application of restrictions on the export of arms and munitions of war to Turkey to apply the same restrictions to all countries

Ad *Article* 25

The Soviet Government undertakes not to impose on Turkish raisins a duty higher than that applied to currants

Ad *Article* 28

Foreign articles, the produce or manufacture of a country not otherwise entitled to most favoured nation treatment, which have undergone transformation or manipulation in the territory of one of the contracting parties will benefit by most favoured-nation treatment as regards reduced rates when imported into the territory of the other only in cases where, by the process of manipulation or transformation, their value has been increased by at least 50 per cent

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E 4255 69 44

No. 2

Sir G. Clerk to Mr. A. Henderson. (*Received August* 17.)

(No. 268.) *Constantinople, August* 13, 1931.

Sir,

I HAVE the honour to inform you that the new Press Law, foreshadowed in the Prime Minister's speech in the Assembly on the 5th July last, as reported in paragraph 3 of my despatch No. 224 of the 8th July, was all but unanimously voted on the 24th July, the last day of the past session, and subsequently ratified by the President of the Republic. It was published in the "Official Gazette" of the 8th August, and entered into force the same day.

2. The new law, which is of considerable length, contains sixty-eight articles arranged in twenty-two sections, and two additional articles of a provisional nature. Its comprehensiveness may be judged from the following headings of some of the more important sections: "Opening of a printing-house," "Of every description of printed matter," "The staffs of newspapers and reviews and their vendors," "The rights of newspaper owners," "Responsibility in the case of an offence against the Press Law," "Incitement to such offence," "Immoral publications," "Blackmail," "Mendacious publications," "Things which may not be printed," "Things which may be printed," "Suspension of newspapers and reviews," "Seizure of printed copies," "Indemnities and moral damages," "Prescription," "Legal Proceedings."

3. Article 1 gives a definition of "printed matter," which is made to include musical compositions and gramophone records. Article 2 deals with bill-posting. Articles 3 to 11 lay down regulations for the opening of printing-houses and prescribe the punishments to be inflicted for offences under this section of the law. Article 12 stipulates that the owner of a newspaper or review must (i) be a Turkish citizen, (ii) be at least 20 years old, (iii) be a *diplômé* of a high school or *lycée* or some equivalent institution, (iv) not be in the service of a foreign State, (v) not put forward any claim to foreign nationality *vis à vis* the Turkish authorities, (vi) not be under legal distraint, (vii) not be in the Government service or in the army, (viii) not have been convicted of a criminal offence, (ix) not

have been condemned by any tribunal or divan (court-martial ?) for treachery towards the fatherland, the "national struggle" (*i.e.*, the Kemalist movement), the republic or the revolution; (x) not have forfeited the right to employment in Government service; and (xi) not have published, during the "national struggle," any matter favourable to the aspirations of the enemy.

4. Article 13 makes the publication of newspapers and reviews by foreigners depend upon a special authorisation by the authorities, subject to the condition that the "person who will direct the general publication" must be a Turkish citizen. Such newspapers and reviews must not publish articles directed against the internal or foreign policy of the Republican Government. Should they do so the special permit will be withdrawn.

5. Article 14 provides for the issue of commendatory certificates to such organs of the press as will make constant contributions to scientific and moral progress. Article 15 lays down that every editor and every "person administering the general publication" must have a high school diploma, besides which the above persons, together with the general manager and the sub-editor, must fulfil the conditions enumerated under article 12 above. Under article 16 a Deputy may own or manage a newspaper or review, but the same Deputy cannot act in both capacities, nor can both posts be filled by Deputies. Articles 17 to 26 prescribe fines, varying from £T. 5 to £T. 500, for contraventions of articles 12 to 16.

6. To pass over some provisions of minor interest, article 27 makes writers and draughtsmen jointly responsible with the owner and management for signed articles and drawings, and empowers the public prosecutor of the republic to compel the owner and administrative staff to divulge the authorship of unsigned contributions on pain of suspension and not less than three months' imprisonment by sentence of a tribunal, independently of the legal proceedings which will be taken according to the nature of the offending publication. Under the same article reporters and sub-editors are jointly responsible with the principal editor for the publication of false news, and will be regarded, in accordance with article 65 of the Penal Code, as the accomplices of the owner and of the general manager.

7. Articles 28 to 30 provide penalties for persons who, through the medium of the press, incite the public to the commission of crimes enumerated in the Penal Code, reveal family secrets, or attack the honour and dignity of the Grand National Assembly, of the Council of Ministers, of official delegations or of Government servants. Articles 31 and 32 deal respectively with immoral publications and blackmail, providing definitions and penalties in accordance with the relevant articles of the Penal Code. Article 33 penalises publications of a nature to cause a depreciation of the national currency or a lack of public confidence therein, while the following article is aimed at the forgers of texts.

8. Articles 35 to 49 describe in detail prohibited and non-prohibited publications, and there is a provision obliging newspapers to insert replies from Government officials to newspaper articles which have reflected on them in the execution of their functions. A further stipulation compels newspapers to publish legal judgments given against them.

9. Article 50 secures the temporary suspension, on a decision by the Council of Ministers, of newspapers and reviews considered prejudicial to the general policy of the country. A publication so suspended may not reappear, during the period of suspension, under another name.

10. In accordance with article 51, the entry into Turkey of foreign periodicals can be prohibited by a decision of the Council of Ministers. Copies already distributed may be seized pending a decision by the Council. Importers of prohibited foreign papers are liable to a fine not exceeding £T. 300. Article 52 provides for the seizure, by order of the public prosecutor, of pictures judged contrary to public morality.

11. Article 53 makes the shareholders jointly responsible with the newspaper owner and staff for the payment of indemnities and moral damages (presumably in case of failure on the part of the two last), while article 54 fixes the period of prescription for press offences at six months. The remaining permanent articles deal with the mode of procedure in the case of legal proceedings arising out of such offences, and provide for the carrying of the present law into effect, while two provisional articles stipulate that a full declaration must be made within fifteen days in respect of each periodical and exempt the owners

editors and general managers for three years from the restrictions which the law prescribes with regard to the degree of education which they are expected to possess.

12. As the translation of the new law has only just reached me, I must reserve my comments for a subsequent despatch.

I have, &c.
GEORGE R. CLERK

E 4258/1234/44 No. 10

Mr. Strang to Mr. A. Henderson.—(Received August 18.)

(No. 404.)

Moscow, August 6, 1931.

WITH reference to Sir Esmond Ovey's despatch No. 131 of the 17th March I have the honour to report that, according to a Tass communiqué, the Presidium of the Central Executive Committee of the U.S.S.R. ratified on the 3rd August the Treaty of Commerce and Navigation between the U.S.S.R. and Turkey signed at Moscow on the 16th March last. This treaty was ratified by the Turkish Assembly on the 22nd July.

2. No reference is made in the communiqué to the Soviet-Turkish Naval Protocol of the 7th March which, according to "Izvestiya" of the 26th July was ratified by the Turkish Assembly on the same day.

I have, &c.
WILLIAM STRANG

E 4359/1234/44 No. 11

Sir G. Clerk to Mr. A. Henderson.—(Received August 24.)

(No. 270.)

Constantinople, August 18, 1931.

WITH reference to Mr. Morgan's despatches Nos. 95 and 132 of the 18th March and 15th April last, I have the honour to report that the Grand National Assembly recently approved a Bill for the ratification of the Turco-Soviet Naval Protocol which was signed at Angora on the 7th March last. The Bill duly received the assent of the President of the Republic, and the text has now appeared in the "Official Gazette."

2. I am sending a copy of this despatch to His Majesty's Ambassador at Moscow.

I have, &c.
GEORGE R. CLERK

E 4361/69/44 No. 12

Sir G. Clerk to Mr. A. Henderson.—(Received August 24.)

(No. 275.)

Constantinople, August 19, 1931.

IN continuation of my despatch No. 208 of the 13th instant, I have the honour to report that, as an immediate effect of the new Press Law, a communication has been addressed by the Vilayet of Constantinople to the offices of all the local newspapers and other periodicals requiring the dismissal of all persons who, under the new law, are precluded from carrying on their journalistic activities. This order does not apply for the present to journalists whose educational record falls short of the required standard since as reported in paragraph 11 of my despatch under reference, such persons are permitted to benefit by a three years' period of grace. No amount of intensive study during this interval may, however, be presumed to enable the persons concerned to qualify for permission to pursue their avocation after the three years have expired, unless, indeed, they can obtain the necessary diplomas from some high school or *lycée* after a period of at least nominal attendance at the courses.

2. In consequence, no doubt, of the above-mentioned order, to-day's "Yarin" announced that, "owing to technical difficulties arising from the new Press Law," it will cease to appear until such time as the law is amended; while the other leading Opposition daily, the "Son Posta," is attempting to survive by suppressing all mention of Zekeriya Bey, its owner, and printing instead on its front page the name of a hitherto unknown "responsible manager." This device can hardly have the desired effect, however, for Zekeriya Bey, like Arif Oruç Bey, of the "Yarin," was once condemned by an Independence Tribunal to a period of detention in the interior of Anatolia for alleged anti-national activities. They thus both fall to be dealt with under article 12 (9) of the new law, and the disappearance of the whole Opposition press would seem to be only a matter of days or weeks. If so, the curtain is about to fall on the last act of the constitutional burlesque staged by the Gazi at Yalova just over a year ago, and if a burlesque can have a moral, it is in this case that, in Turkey, the last duty of an Opposition is to oppose.

3. It is by no means clear to what extent the new law will affect the few foreign newspapers still published in this country, of which the French "Stamboul" and the German "Türkische Post" are the chief. As reported in paragraphs 3 and 5 of my last despatch on this subject, the owner, the editor and sub-editor, the general manager and the "person administering the general publication" of a newspaper or review must (1) be Turkish citizens and (2) not have published during the "national struggle" (roughly contemporaneous with the period of the Allied occupation) any matter favourable to the aspirations of the enemy. This would, on the former count alone, seem to rule out the participation of all foreigners except those on the subordinate staffs, but these provisions are doubtless negatived by those of article 13, which makes the publication of newspapers and reviews by foreigners conditional on their obtaining a special permit in each case, and on the "person who will direct the general publication" being of Turkish nationality. While, however, the "Türkische Post" would appear to be safe, the "Stamboul" is not unlikely to have difficulties arising out of its having been an Allied organ during the occupation period. Meanwhile, it continues to appear without any noticeable change. The organs of the Greek, Armenian and Jewish native communities may be expected to have more serious trouble as a more serious view would naturally be taken of former anti-Kemalist utterances by writers who were then, and still remain, Turkish nationals.

4. It would appear that, in at least one respect, Yunus Nadi Bey, the triumphant survivor of the scurrilous press campaign reported on in my despatch No. 224 of the 8th July last, has been hoist with his own petard, for it will have been seen that article 16 of the new law precludes a Deputy from being both owner and manager of a newspaper, as Yunus Nadi is understood to be of the Cumhuriyet and its French edition, the "République." Official connivance at his position would, however, only be a fitting reward for the part he has played in exacerbating from the Government side the press controversy which afforded the pretext for the present piece of legislation.

5. In conclusion, I would draw your attention to the extreme elasticity of certain sections of the law, in particular of the provisions, referred to in paragraph 7 of my despatch under reference, directed against writings which, *inter alia*, "attack the honour and dignity of the Grand National Assembly, of the Council of Ministers, of official delegations, or of Government servants." Article 33, moreover, directed against writings judged "of a nature to cause a depreciation of the national currency or a lack of public confidence therein," seems capable of the widest interpretation and may some day prove a useful instrument, although, for the present at least, the national rate of exchange is secure in the protection of an official expedient which maintains it at a constant figure. More remarkable still is the provision in article 9 authorising the suspension of newspapers and reviews "considered (by the Council of Ministers) prejudicial to the general policy of the country." A journalistic mariner who would steer clear of so formidable a reef will need the resourcefulness of a Ulysses and a powerful protector among the Gods if he and his craft are not to be separated.

I have, &c.
GEORGE R. CLERK

C 6712/88/19

No. 13.

Sir G. Clerk to the Marquess of Reading. (*Received August 31.*)

(No. 278.) *Constantinople, August 26, 1931.*

My Lord,

I HAVE the honour to report that M. Venizelos arrived at Constantinople by sea on the 23rd instant on his return journey to Greece from Roumania. He was greeted on board the steamer by the Turkish Minister for Foreign Affairs, and, after paying a visit to the Vali, had a two hours' interview, at which Tevfik Rushdi Bey was present, with the Prime Minister at Dolma Bahce Palace. Rushdi Bey was present, with the Prime Minister at Dolma Bahce Palace. M. Venizelos then paid a short visit to the Ecumenical Patriarch, who presented him on taking to the press with two handsomely bound volumes of the Gospels, one for Mme. Venizelos and one for Mme. Venizelos. The evening was spent at the summer residence of the Greek Minister at Yenikoy on the Bosphorus where M. Venizelos was the guest of honour at a dinner party at which Ismet Pasha, Tevfik Rushdi Bey and the Vali of Constantinople were also present.

2. I enclose herewith a translation of an official communique which appeared in the press of the 24th August:

> The circumstance of his Excellency M. Venizelos's passing through Constantinople on his return from a journey in Europe has afforded a happy opportunity for interviews with Ismet Pasha and Dr. Tevfik Rushdi Bey. The statesmen of the two countries have had two meetings, the first at Dolma Bahce and the second at Yenikoy, in the residence of his Excellency M. Polychronis the Greek Minister.
>
> These conferences, a manifestation of the development of the friendship and good understanding existing between the two countries have been noted with pleasure by both Prime Ministers have once again expressed their conviction that the progressive situation of these friendly and sincere relations is furthering the true interests of both nations. They are, moreover, agreed that the consolidation of international peace constitutes an essential duty for both parties.

3. Next morning M. Venizelos received various representatives of the local press, with whom he touched on the world-wide economic depression and the foreign relations of Greece, concluding with the declaration: "We are friends with everybody, and want all nations to be the same." With regard to this, his second visit to Turkey, his Excellency is reported to have expressed his great regret that it was necessarily so short, and his keen appreciation of the kind reception afforded him, particularly by the Prime Minister and the Minister for Foreign Affairs, who had come from Yalova and Angora respectively, specially to welcome him. He would endeavour to give proof of his gratitude on the occasion of the two Turkish statesmen's forthcoming visit to Athens.

4. M. Venizelos left for Athens later in the morning by the Roumanian steamer on which he had arrived from Constantza, so that he was here merely *en passant*, and doubtless, as he himself stated, because he preferred travelling by sea rather than by land. At the same time, he must have counted on the good effect which his brief return, after ten months of official friendship, would have on Turkish public opinion and on the development of Greco-Turkish relations, and there is every indication that in this expectation he will not have been disappointed.

5. I am sending a copy of this despatch to His Majesty's Minister at Athens.

I have &c.
GEORGE R. CLERK.

E 4474/4/44

No. 14.

Mr. Wyatt to Sir F. Butler. (*Received August 31.*)

(Confidential.) *Ottoman Debt Council,*

Dear Butler, *Paris, August 27, 1931.*

I ENCLOSE for your private information copies of my letter of the 30th June last to the Turkish Government and of the Government's reply of the 20th August.

Yours sincerely,
S. C. WYATT.

Enclosure 1 in No. 14.

President of Ottoman Debt Council to Turkish Minister of Finance.

M. le Ministre, *Paris, le 30 juin 1931.*

VOTRE Excellence a eu connaissance par la communication qui en a été faite à son Excellence Munir Bey, Ambassadeur de Turquie à Paris, par les soins de M. le Président de l'Association nationale des Porteurs français de Valeurs ottomanes du communiqué par lequel la Conférence des Organismes et Associations signataires du Contrat du 13 juin 1928 a fait connaître aux porteurs les résolutions prises au cours de sa réunion du 18 juin dernier.

J'ai l'honneur de remettre, ci-joint, à votre Excellence le texte de ce communiqué et de porter à sa connaissance que le Conseil de la Dette et le Conseil des Porteurs se sont entièrement associés aux résolutions prises et aux vœux formulés par la conférence.

Par ailleurs, j'ai l'honneur d'accuser réception à votre Excellence de sa lettre du 16 courant, par laquelle vous avisez le conseil que jusqu'à la conclusion d'un nouvel accord, le Gouvernement turc fera verser mensuellement à notre nom, de juin 1931 à janvier 1932, un montant de £T. 620,000, comme il avait été fait l'année passée. Votre Excellence informe également notre conseil qu'il ne pourra être transféré, comme par le passé, que 7,500 livre sterling par mois sur les versements ainsi effectués en livres turques.

Notre conseil a le regret de constater que les intentions manifestées par le Gouvernement turc ne sont pas conformes au contrat du 13 juin 1928, qui est le seul lien de droit entre le Gouvernement de la République turque et les porteurs et dont le conseil a mission de réclamer l'application intégrale, en l'absence d'un accord avec les porteurs autorisant un allégement temporaire du montant de versements qui y sont stipulés ou une modification des modes de paiement et de transfert prévus audit contrat.

Le conseil a le devoir, en conséquence, et conformément aux résolutions prises le 18 juin dernier et visées ci-dessus, de renouveler les demandes, protestations et réserves qu'il a précédemment formulées à l'occasion des versements partiels afférents à l'exercice écoulé et particulièrement dans sa lettre du 21 janvier 1931.

Notre conseil a l'obligation de faire connaître à votre Excellence qu'en recevant les versements mensuels indiqués dans votre lettre du 16 juin 1931, il entend, conformément à l'article 27, paragraphe 2, du contrat du 13 juin 1928 réserver expressément tous les droits que les porteurs tiennent de ce contrat. Il ne peut considérer ces sommes que comme des acomptes sur l'annuité dont le Gouvernement turc est redevable pour l'exercice 1931-32 aux termes dudit contrat.

Veuillez, &c.
Le Président,
S. C. WYATT.

Enclosure 2 in No. 14

Turkish Government to President of the Ottoman Debt Council

M. le Président, *Ankara, le 20 août* 1931

J'AI eu l'honneur de recevoir, avec son annexe, votre lettre du 30 juin dernier, et j'ai pris connaissance, non sans une certaine surprise, des considérations que vous croyez devoir exprimer au sujet du montant des paiements mensuels prévus pour la période allant de juin 1931 à janvier 1932 et dont il vous a été fait part dans notre lettre du 16 juin.

Vous ne l'ignorez point que le conseil n'estime pas cette disposition du Gouvernement de la République conforme aux engagements qu'il a assumés par le contrat de 1928 et que partant les sommes versées par le Trésor turc ne devront être considérées que comme de simples acomptes sur l'annuité dont il est redevable pour l'exercice 1931-32 aux termes dudit contrat.

Le Gouvernement de la République a toujours fait preuve de la plus évidente bonne volonté dans l'exécution de ses engagements quels qu'ils soient puis par lui et ne vous attribue à nouveau ni les causes graves qui l'ont empêché et l'empêchent encore de faire face intégralement aux obligations prévues par le contrat dont nous faites mention, ni ne dispose d'autant plus que ces restrictions d'ordre sont la correspondance échangée entre le conseil et le Gouvernement turc ainsi que les derniers pourparlers vous ont permis de connaître et de suivre, jusque dans leurs moindres détails, la phase successives du développement de la situation.

Cette situation qui est l'œuvre de la crise dite ultra et ordre économique et financier qui n'a pu être possible de conjurer par vous-même a amené les deux parties, ainsi que vous le savez, à se mettre en contact et à ouvrir des pourparlers pour trouver une solution équitable nécessaire.

Permettez-moi M. le Président de vous donner l'assurance que du moins pour ce qui le concerne le Gouvernement turc ne ressent de rien disposé à continuer ces pourparlers afin d'aboutir à une solution heureuse et acceptable tant pour les tiers que pour les signataires de l'Empire ottoman que pour lui même et je vous prie de tenir que la situation présente ne peut durant qu'elle fait paraît à mes contents le porteur des titres.

La Turquie est le seul pays qui a fait propositions des paiements sur la partie de la dette publique ottomane incombant à sa charge. Malgré cette évidente preuve de bonne foi et malgré les promesses qui lui ont été faites et qui l'ont déterminée à agréer l'accord de 1928 elle n'est que depuis des années privée systématiquement de toutes facilités et pourtant vous avez été le témoin pendant les derniers pourparlers de début qu'elle a déployés et de sacrifices bien au dessus de ses moyens qu'elle a consentis pour hâter la solution de cette question.

De faits, par ailleurs, d'une portée d'une importance capitale, c'est que les premiers entretiens d'Ankara n'avaient pu en seulement pour résultat de permettre les deux parties de la nécessité de continuer ces pourparlers mais encore ils avaient forcément créé une situation de fait pour les paiements. C'est donc sur la base de ce *statu quo* que, dans l'exercice précédent le Trésor turc a effectué ses versements, c'est encore sur cette même base qu'il entend s'exécuter durant l'exercice actuel. Ce serait par conséquent faire une affirmation absolument inadmissible que de dire que les paiements mensuels de LT 620 000 sont des acomptes. J'espère que vous m'excuserez d'y appeler votre attention. Il importe de répéter encore une fois qu'aussi longtemps que les négociations entamées dont une prompte reprise serait peut être souhaitable n'auront pas abouti à un résultat satisfaisant le Gouvernement turc doit s'en tenir à ce *statu quo*. Il ne peut donc pas accepter que les paiements actuels soient des acomptes, ni une dette plus élevée et ne peut d'autre part considérer comme lié par un engagement autre que celui qu'il a lui-même à remplir loyalement et cela non sur la base des dispositions actuelles.

Veuillez &c.

Le Ministre de l'Économie par intérim.

ABDUL HALIK BEY

E 4583/718/44 No. 15

Sir G. Clerk to the Marquess of Reading (*Received September 7*)

(No. 289)

My Lord, *Constantinople, September 1*, 1931

I HAVE the honour to transmit to your Lordship the accompanying copy of a despatch addressed to me by the military attaché to His Majesty's Embassy recording certain remarks on Turkish foreign policy made to Major O'Leary by the Minister for Foreign Affairs in the course of a recent conversation.

2. While Tevfik Rüstu Bey's utterances on this occasion contained nothing that is new or of outstanding interest, I have thought them worth bringing to your Lordship's notice as being a moderate and doubtless sincere statement of the pacific principles at present guiding the foreign policy of the country.

I have, &c.

GEORGE R. CLERK

Enclosure in No. 15

Major O'Leary to Sir G. Clerk

No. 3.)

Sir, *Constantinople, August 27*, 1931

I HAVE the honour to submit to your Excellency's notice some remarks on a conversation which I had last night with the Minister for Foreign Affairs. In the course of a lengthy but rather incoherent discourse the Minister made the following observations:

His chief distinction of Turkey's foreign policy since 1923 was her desire to be led astray by idealism and her firm grasp of realities and estimate of force. Determined to remain at peace with all her neighbours Turkey had nevertheless understood the need of a strong army. She was at any time ready to take part in a scheme of general disarmament, but intended to approach this problem on a level footing with other Powers thanks to her army of 150,000, and not as a disarmed nation.

Her financial policy had been equally realistic and sound. Long term loans were too expensive and short term loans a scourge. Turkey had learnt this lesson from the history of the Ottoman Empire.

Her treaties with her neighbours and gestures of friendship were a further example of her clear-sightedness, and were not to be taken as evidence of allegiance to any group or of subordination of her policy to that of any other Power. As an example, Tevfik Rüstu Bey pointed out that it was cheaper to be on friendly terms with Russia than to keep 100,000 men on the Russian frontier.

He expressed the opinion that the negotiations with Persia for an exchange of territory would take a long time, although they were proceeding satisfactorily.

The Minister went on to say that civil aviation was now the chief need of Turkey, and that the Aviation League, which had furnished over sixty machines to the army, might now be expected to devote some funds to non-military flying. He stated, incidentally, that the Turkish army had bought machines from almost every nation, including Great Britain and America. It seems probable that he has been misinformed on this head.

I have, &c.

R. J. O'LEARY, *Major, G.S.*

E 5024/5024/44 No. 16

Sir G. Clerk to the Marquess of Reading (*Received October 2*)

(No. 316)

My Lord, *Constantinople, September 29*, 1931

I HAVE the honour to transmit to your Lordship herewith the text of a communiqué communiqué to-day Millet announcing a forthcoming visit by Saracoglu Sukru Bey, ex-Minister of Finance to the United States.

2 My American colleague tells me in confidence that, for some time past the Prime Minister has been expressing a wish that American bankers and financiers would take a more active interest in the development of Turkey. Mr Grew has replied that, as Ismet Pasha knows, while certain American interests have offered to do business with Turkey and have sent representatives here, the highest class of American financial houses with whom it is clearly in Turkey's interest to deal must be sought at home. It therefore, the Turkish Government wish to get into touch with them it must send someone to New York to make the contact. Mr Grew has been careful to add that he cannot, of course, give any assurance that such contact will be productive of result, but his observations have apparently borne fruit.

3 I understand that it was at first proposed to send with Saraoglu Sukru Bey a professional staff, but it was no doubt decided that the possibilities to be explored were too small as to not anything more than a regular mission and he will now only be accompanied by an English speaking secretary. While not definitely ruling out the possibility Ismet Pasha said nothing to Mr Grew to imply that the Turkish Government wished to raise a loan in America and I incline to think that it will be wise to avoid a State loan if possible but it does seem that American bankers and financiers interested in Turkish development might usefully be encouraged to visit Angora and discuss matters with Ismet Pasha and the Economic Minister.

4 Both Ismet Pasha and the American Ambassador seem to feel that no successful initiative in approach to American bankers should be made publicly the latter quite rightly pointing out that the press have been full of the visit and adding that it would be fatal if financial questions were dragged into the publicity of the conference.

I have &c.
GEORGE R. CLERK

C 7487 178 62 No. 17

Sir G. Clerk to the Marquess of Reading. (*Received October 6*)

(No. 317.)
My Lord, *Angora, September 30, 1931.*

I HAVE the honour to report that the inaugural session of the second annual Balkan Conference will be held in Constantinople on the 20th October. It had been intended to hold it earlier in the month but this was found impossible partly because the Roumanian delegates were then to be attending a meeting of the International Parliamentary Conference at Bucharest, but chiefly because Ismet Pasha and Dr Tevfik Rüstü Bey were, between the 2nd and the 19th October, to be absent from Turkey on an official visit to Athens and Budapest.

2. The conference will be presided by Hasan Bey, Deputy for Trebizond and vice-president of the Grand National Assembly, and the opening speech will be delivered by Ismet Pasha at Dolmabagge Palace. Thereafter the deliberations of the conference will take place at Yildiz Kiosk, the final session being held in Angora on the 26th October in the building of the Grand National Assembly. The delegates will then be received by the President of the Republic.

3. In addition to the delegates of Albania, Bulgaria, Greece, Roumania, Turkey and Yugoslavia, the following have been invited to send representatives to the conference: The League of Nations, the International Labour Bureau, International Peace Bureau and the International Parliamentary political and commercial sections. The diplomatic representatives in Turkey of the Balkan States will also attend the conference as observers.

4. The work of the conference will be carried out by six commissions which will deal with political topics, but not including the desirability of concluding a Balkan Pact, the outlawry of war and settlement of the question of minorities; economic co-operation including the possibility of a customs union and with

questions of co-ordination of legislation, transport and means of communication, intellectual hygienic and social co-operation. The agenda will be as follows:

(1) Enquiry into a Balkan Pact and into the protection of minorities.
(2) Possibilities of a Balkan postal union and of improvement of rail way, telephonic and telegraphic communications.
(3) Freedom of travel and residence for Balkan citizens.
(4) Health and social co-operation.
(5) Protection of tobacco and cereals.
(6) Co-operation of financial establishments.
(7) Equality of Balkan civic rights.
(8) Creation of a Balkan Chamber of Commerce.

5. Six memoranda have already been addressed to the conference, two by Greece regarding a Balkan Pact and a Balkan Chamber of Commerce, two by Yugoslavia regarding political rapprochement, non-aggression and arbitration and two by Bulgaria regarding Bulgarian war graves, and obstacles to Balkan mutual understanding. This last memorandum deals at length with the treatment of Bulgarian minorities in Yugoslavia, Greece and Roumania, and demands that the question of the minorities be discussed before all other questions. It will be seen from the agenda of the conference that the wishes of Bulgaria have been acceded to. It is the hope of the Bulgarian delegation that Turkey will use her good offices to settle Bulgarian differences with the other Balkan States, and this hope was expressed during a recent visit to Constantinople of a party of Bulgarian tourists, including a number of deputies. As against this may be set an intense activity now displayed by Greece to consolidate good relations with Turkey, and to ensure the support of Turkey for the Greek point of view in Balkan affairs.

6. I am sending copies of this despatch to His Majesty's representatives at Athens, Sofia, Belgrade, Bucharest and Durazzo.

I have &c.
GEORGE R. CLERK

E 5131 68 44 No. 18

Sir G. Clerk to the Marquess of Reading. (*Received October 13*)

(No. 325.)
My Lord, *Constantinople, October 7, 1931.*

I HAVE the honour to transmit to your Lordship herewith a copy of a despatch from His Majesty's consul at Trebizond regarding a number of Kurdish families which arrived there recently from the interior and are being transferred by the Turkish Government to Western Turkey for settlement.

According to a semi-official press message published in the "Milliyet" of the 4th October, these families, numbering 405, belong to the Halikanli tribe, and have hitherto led a nomadic life on the Persian side of the frontier. They crossed the frontier and petitioned the Turkish Government to be allowed to settle in Western Anatolia. The message confirms that the Government is arranging for their settlement in the Western vilayets. It goes on to state that the Halikanlis are a branch of the Celali tribe, that they are Turkish-speaking, and that they originally migrated some 300 or 400 years ago from Konya.

3 I am sending a copy of this despatch to His Majesty's representative at Tehran.

I have &c.
GEORGE R. CLERK

Enclosure in No 18.

Consul Matthews to Sir G. Clerk.

(No 105)
Sir, *Trebizond, September 22, 1931*

I HAVE the honour to report, with reference to my despatch No 103 of the 19th instant, that since that date parties of Kurds have been arriving here from the Ararat region and that the numbers of 200 "houses" or families, stated to be under 500 persons, were despatched by the "Seyri Sefain" steamship "Cumhuriyet" on the 17th instant to Constantinople, whence, according to one report, they are to be sent to the Bursa and Konya Vilayets, and according to another, to Rodosto and Thrace. They are said to be the people of Halil Aga, a Kurdish chieftain of the Agri dag region who fought against the Turks last year, and is reported to have surrendered together with 1,200 "houses" of his people, to General Salih Pasha, about a month ago. He had refused some weeks earlier to surrender to Omer Halis Pasha who had been sent to the Ararat region for that purpose. I do not know why he preferred to surrender to Salih rather than to Omer Halis Pasha, but suggest that he may have thought that the higher the rank of the officer the less would be the disgrace of surrender. After his surrender he proceeded to Erzerum where he is stated to have deposited a sum of £T 15,000 in the Ottoman Bank, but I give this information with great reserve. Halil Aga is said to be at present engaged in collecting his cattle and other livestock, and is expected to arrive here with the last of his people before winter comes on. The chief of the Kurds who have arrived here appears to be one Mustafa, probably a son of Halil Aga.

2. The Turkish Government are stated to have made a grant of £T 5,000 towards the expenses of transporting these Kurds to their new homes. They are kept under guard during their stay in Trebizond, and foreigners are not allowed to approach them.

I have, &c.
W. D. W. MATTHEWS.

P.S. M. Frenkian colleague thinks that these Kurds are a fraction of the Celali tribe, and really of Persian nationality, for, had they been Turkish nationals, they could not have been allowed to retain possession of their live stock.

W. D. W. M.

E 5132/14/44 No. 19

Sir G. Clerk to the Marquess of Reading. (*Received October 15*)

(No. 329)
My Lord, *Constantinople, October 8, 1931*

WITH reference to my despatch No. 266 of the 12th July, 1930, transmitting the text of the law governing the establishment of a Turkish State Bank, I have the honour to inform your Lordship that this institution officially designated "The Central Bank of the Turkish Republic" began its operations in Angora on the 3rd October.

2. The management of the bank, which has not yet opened any branch, has been entrusted to Salâhettin Bey, late Assistant Director General of the Agricultural Bank. This official will be responsible to a board of directors under the chairmanship of Nusret Bey, late President of the Council of State and formerly diplomatic liaison officer in Constantinople of the Nationalist Government.

3. The authorised capital of the bank has been fully subscribed but up to the present only 40 per cent. has been called up.

4. I enclose herein an analysis of the State Bank's constitution which may be of interest for purposes of reference.

I have, &c.
GEORGE R. CLERK.

Enclosure in No. 19.

Banque centrale de la République turque.

(Loi du 11 juin 1930.)

(A) *Forme.*

Société anonyme (article 1er).

(B) *Siège social.*

Ankara (article 3).

(C) *Agences ou Succursales.*

En Turquie seulement sur décision du Conseil d'Administration.
A l'étranger, la banque ne peut avoir que des correspondants (article 4).

(D) *Durée de la Concession.*

Trente ans, renouvelable jusqu'à la dernière période de cinq ans avant son expiration (article 1er).

(E) *Objet.*

Fixer le taux de l'escompte.
Régulariser le marché monétaire et la circulation.
Se charger des opérations de la Trésorerie de l'Etat.
Arrêter, d'accord avec le Gouvernement, toutes les mesures visant la stabilisation future de la livre turque (article 2).

(F) *Capital.*

Ltqs. 15 millions, divisé en 150,000 actions de Ltqs. 100.
Les actions sont divisées en coupures de Ltqs. 100 (1 action), Ltqs. 200 (2 actions), Ltqs. 500 (5 actions), Ltqs. 1,000 (10 actions), Ltqs. 5,000 (50 actions), Ltqs. 10,000 (100 actions) (article 21).
Elles sont nominatives (article 22).
Les actions sont divisées en quatre séries.

(G) *Privilèges.*

La banque possède les privilèges exclusifs suivants :

(1) Privilège d'émission, durée trente ans (article 1er).
(2) Privilège d'effectuer les paiements du Trésor (article 34) et les transferts de fonds de l'Etat, à l'intérieur et à l'extérieur du pays.
(3) Privilège de fixer le taux de l'escompte et de l'intérêt des avances (article 49).
(4) Privilège de recevoir en dépôt les fonds appartenant au Trésor et aux Administrations des Monopoles (article 51).
(5) Privilège d'exporter de l'or (article 52).

(H) *Avantages spéciaux.*

Ils consistent principalement dans les exemptions dont bénéficie la banque et qui sont les suivants :

(1) Exemption de droit de timbre et de tous autres droits et taxes pour les actes correspondances, action et annonces concernant les opérations de la banque et les formalités de sa constitution (article 92).
(2) Exemption de tous droits pour la correspondance, les envois postaux et les télégrammes de la banque à l'intérieur du pays (article 93).
(3) Exemption de la taxe douanière pour les coffres forts, le matériel et les accessoires que la banque fera venir de l'Etranger *pour son* installation (article 94).
(4) Exemption de tous impôts, droits et taxes, pour le capital de la banque, le fonds de réserve et le bénéfice revenant aux actions de la série "A" (article 96).

En outre, la banque bénéficie des dispositions suivantes, qui constituent, pour elle, des avantages particuliers :

(5) Garantie par le Gouvernement pendant les trois premières années, du dividende annuel de 6 pour cent sur la valeur nominale des actions. Les avances éventuelles de l'Etat seront amorties au cours des 4e, 5e et 6e années de l'activité de la banque (article provisoire 6).

(6) Octroi de la valeur des 50 pour cent des anciens billets prescrites après un délai de dix ans à partir du début de l'échange. Ce montant devrait être porté dans un fonds de réserve spéciale. Comme il n'est pas dit qu'il servirait à l'amortissement de la dette de l'Etat envers la banque, il constituerait un bénéfice spécial octroyé par l'Etat (article 19).

(I) *Rapports avec l'Etat :*

(1) *Participation au Capital.* La participation de l'Etat au capital, représenté par les actions " A " ne peut pas dépasser 15 pour cent du capital.

(2) *Représentation au Conseil d'Administration :* Sur les huit membres du conseil, deux, dont le président, seront choisis par le Gouvernement sur la proposition du Ministère des Finances, approuvée par le Conseil des Ministres.

En outre, un membre sera désigné par une commission composée de délégues des chambres de commerce et d'industrie choisis par le Ministère de l'Economie nationale.

3. *Participation à la Direction générale : le directeur général* et le *directeur général adjoint* sont nommés, pour une période de cinq ans, sur la proposition du conseil d'administration, *par une décision du Conseil des Ministres sanctionnée par le Président de la République.*

(4) *Contrôle de l'Etat :* Le Gouvernement n'a aucun rôle dans la nomination du comité de contrôle, dont les membres sont élus par les seuls actionnaires des séries " B " " C " et " D " Toutefois, ledit comité doit adresser au Ministère des Finances copie de toutes ses communications au conseil d'administration (article 71)

Le Ministre des Finances a le droit, à tout moment, d'inspecter et de contrôler les opérations et les comptes de la banque (article 87).

(9) *Dette de l'Etat envers la Banque :* Elle est déterminée par la prise en charge par la banque de la masse des billets en circulation billets qui, étant émis par l'Etat, ne sont garantis jusqu'ici que par le crédit de l'Etat (article 5)

La garantie de la banque se substitue, dorénavant, à la garantie de l'Etat mais, en échange, l'Etat s'engage envers la banque pour un montant équivalent à la circulation fiduciaire, soit pour Ltqs. 158.748.563

En représentation de sa dette envers la banque, le Gouvernement remet à la banque des bons du Trésor pour un montant de Ltqs. 158.748.563, à 1 pour cent d'intérêt, par an (article 5).

La dette de l'Etat envers la banque sera amortie :

(a) *En une seule fois* (les remises devant en être faites aussitôt la banque constituée) à concurrence de la valeur des fonds et titres ci-après (article 7) :

(1) Montant de Ltqs. or 500.000 se trouvant, actuellement, en or monnayé ou en lingots en la possession du Trésor;

(2) Valeurs internationales, y compris les intérêts reçus, d'un montant *nominal* de 116.497.925 fr indiquées dans une liste annexée(1) (article 6)

Toutefois, l'évaluation, tant de l'or que des titres, ne sera faite, qu'après la mise en vigueur de la loi de stabilisation (article provisoire 7). L'amortissement de bons correspondants ne sera donc effectué qu'à ce moment

(b) *Périodiquement*, au moyen de la cession ou les versements suivants faits par l'Etat à la banque (article 8) :

(1) Montant équivalent à 1 pour cent du total des crédits inscrits, à partir de l'exercice financier 1931, aux budgets, *général, annexes et spéciaux*, à l'exception des budgets municipaux et spéciaux inférieurs à Ltqs. 50.000;

(1) Note : no 1

(2) Fonds pouvant être mis de côté sur la plus-value de revenus;

(3) Montants en or ou en devises convertibles en or que le Gouvernement pourrait acquérir et déciderait d'effectuer à ce sujet;

(4) Montant des intérêts des valeurs internationales remises (au moins jusqu'à l'évaluation et la cession définitive de ces valeurs);

(5) Part de l'Etat dans le solde des bénéfices (50 pour cent) après les deux premières répartitions.

(J) *Circulation fiduciaire — Billets de Banque :*

La banque prend en charge le papier-monnaie émis par l'Etat.

Jusqu'à la mise en vigueur de la loi sur la stabilisation, le papier-monnaie bénéficie du cours forcé (article 5).

La banque ne peut mettre aucun billet en circulation en sus de la quantité qu'elle a prise en charge, sauf dans les conditions et directives indiquées dans les articles 35, 36, 37, 38 et 39 (article 14) le cours forcé s'applique, également, à ces émissions supplémentaires de billets (article 15).

(K) *Opérations de la Banque :*

(1) Opérations que la banque doit faire :

(a) Effectuer les paiements du Trésor et les opérations de transfert des fonds de l'Etat (article 34);

(b) Recevoir en dépôt les fonds du Trésor et des Administrations des Monopoles (dépôts faits obligatoirement à la Banque centrale) (article 51).

(c) Fixer périodiquement pour tout le pays le taux de l'escompte et l'intérêt des avances sur effets (article 49).

(d) Fixer le taux de réescompte des effets de commerce (article 50);

(e) Fixer le taux d'intérêt des avances à accorder contre les obligations de l'Etat.

(f) Se dessaisir, dans un délai maximum de trois ans, des immeubles dont elle peut être amenée à prendre possession par suite du règlement de ses créances.

(2) Opérations que la Banque peut faire

Dès son entrée en activité :

(a) Recevoir en dépôt les fonds des établissements d'Etat gérés par des budgets annexes, des administrations spéciales des vilayets, des municipalités des associations d'utilité publique, des sociétés dont la majorité des actions appartiennent à l'Etat (dépôts pouvant être effectués soit à la Banque centrale, soit aux Banques nationales) (article provisoire 8).

(b) Acheter et vendre de l'or monnayé ou en lingot à un prix fixé périodiquement par la Banque, jusqu'à la mise en vigueur de la loi de stabilisation (articles 35 et 37).

(c) Acheter et vendre des devises convertibles en or à échéance maxima de quatre vingt dix jours et à des prix fixés périodiquement par la banque jusqu'à la mise en vigueur de la loi de stabilisation (articles 36 et 37);

(d) Consentir des avances contre de l'or (article 35);

(e) Réescompter des effets de commerce présentées par les banques à condition que ces effets portent au moins trois signatures ou deux signatures et une garantie telle que des bulletins de dépôts ou des warrants accompagnés des polices d'assurances. Les marchandises dans ce cas, doivent être facilement vendables et leur valeur doit être supérieure à l'avance dans une proportion de 10 à 20 pour cent (article 38);

(f) Emettre, en sus du total de la circulation, des billets de monnaie pour des montants équivalents à ses réescomptes d'effets de commerce jusqu'à un maximum à fixer par un Comité de Banques (article 39) ainsi que pour des montants équivalents à ses achats d'or et de devises convertibles en or;

(g) Conserver et gérer, contre rétribution, des billets et des objets de valeur (article 41)

Seulement après la mise en vigueur de la loi de stabilisation

(*a*) Consentir des avances sur les obligations cotées de l'Etat, des vilayets et des municipalités (80 pour cent au maximum) et sur d'autres obligations et solides (70 pour cent au maximum);

(*b*) Emettre des billets de banque en remplacement des billets de monnaie en circulation (article 13)

(c) *Répartition des Bénéfices*

Première répartition :

20 pour cent au fonds de réserve;

6 pour cent sur la valeur nominale des actions au titre de premier dividende aux actions

Deuxième répartition : Sur le solde

5 pour cent aux employés dans la proportion de 10 à 100 pour cent de leurs traitements

10 pour cent au fonds de réserve extraordinaire

Le solde après cette deuxième répartition revient par moitié au Trésor et aux contributaires (article 88)

Dès que le fonds de réserve ordinaire aura atteint le 75 pour cent du capital on ne prélèvera plus et, suivant de ce fonds, que 10 pour cent du bénéfice, au lieu de 20 pour cent. Le prélèvement servait à nouveau de 20 pour cent si le fonds de réserve baissait au dessous du 75 pour cent du capital (article 89)

Si après le prélèvement du 20 pour cent au fonds de réserve le solde ne suffit pas à distribuer les 6 pour cent du premier dividende, la différence sera comblée sur le fonds de réserve extraordinaire (article 91)

Pendant les trois premières années de la fondation de la banque, le Gouvernement garantit aux fonctionnaires le dividende annuel de 6 pour cent Les avances ainsi faites par le Gouvernement seront amorties à partir de la quatrième année

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E 5930 372/J 34 No. 29.

The Marquess of Reading to Mr. Hoare (Vienna)

(No. 596)

Foreign Office, October 15, 1931

Sir,

WITH reference to Mr. Edmonds's despatch No. 666 of the 16th April 1929, regarding the Turco-Persian frontier, I transmit to you, for your information, the accompanying copy of a note, dated the 9th April, 1929, from the Turkish Minister for Foreign Affairs to the Persian Ambassador at Angora, which has been forwarded to this Department by His Majesty's Embassy in Turkey, giving the terms of the frontier agreement of that date between the Turkish and Persian Governments.

2. Considerable difficulty has been experienced by His Majesty's representative in Turkey in obtaining the text of this agreement from either the Turkish or the Persian authorities, and it is only recently that it has been possible to procure the enclosed document from the Turkish Ministry for Foreign Affairs

I am, &c.

READING

Enclosure in No. 29

Turkish Minister for Foreign Affairs to Persian Ambassador, Angora

Angora, le 9 avril 1929

M. l'Ambassadeur,

PARTICULIEREMENT heureux de ce que nos conversations tendant à régler la question de la frontière turco-persane et à donner ainsi son plein effet au traité d'amitié conclu entre nos deux pays aient abouti à un accord, j'ai

l'honneur de soumettre ci-après à votre Altesse les termes de l'arrangement intervenu, tout en la priant de bien vouloir me confirmer par une note responsive l'adhésion du Gouvernement impérial aux dispositions dont il s'agit :

1. La frontière entre la Turquie et la Perse est fixée comme suit

De l'Aras jusqu'au Petit-Ararat et la borne No. 37 de l'ancienne frontière turco-russe, la frontière turco-persane sera la même que la frontière russo persane telle qu'elle était en 1914. De là, suivant la ligne du partage des eaux, elle passe par les monts Betchera et arrive à Karni Yarik. De Karni Yarik, jusqu'à un point situé entre les villages de Cheitan Abad (Perse) et Guerboran (Turquie), la délimitation sera faite suivant les dispositions de l'article 3, étant entendu que les villages de Kozlou-Keuy et Yarim-Kaya resteront à la Perse. De ce point situé entre le village persan de Cheitan Abad et le village turc de Guerboran à l'ouest de Bazergnan et suit le partage des eaux entre les villages turcs de Gordji Boulak, Nazik et Kara Koymaz et les villages persans de Bazergnan, Kedjat, Bachkindi et Marekeunnou; puis traverse le col situé entre Marekeunnou et Tavla (turc) et laissant en Perse les ruines de Kasorlou et Cheikh Asker, arrive aux rochers de Kodja Dagh, passe par les crêtes de Zindo-Dachy, Akdagh et de Kanly Baba laissant à la Perse le village Djanset et passant par les crêtes de Akdagh et Kalender, sépare les champs des villages persans Nifto, Salman Abad et Pir Ahmad de ceux du village turc Denchurma et, suivant toujours le partage des eaux entre Bayazit et Avadjik, atteint Khezineh Gueboul.

De Keesineh Gueboulk, la frontière, laissant le village Kizil-Kaya à la Turquie et le village Silo-Magul ainsi que le lac Kouron-Geul à la Perse, passe par le mont Kara Gunez, traverse la rivière Egritchai à Topak Dagh, passe par Kala Akdagh, laisse le village Nado à la Perse et celui de Egritchai Bekirkindi à la Turquie, atteint les monts Kizil Ziarat et passe par les cols de Akdagh et Khan Ouchouk, les monts Sari Tchemène, Doumanlou, le col de Kara Bourga, laissant les villages Cheikh Soulou en territoire persan, passe par le mont Naour, laisse en territoire persan le village Ikmali, passe par Rechkan, les collines entre Tavla et Akbounek Bayla Beyzadan, Gavri Naline et Khidir Baba

De Khidir Baba jusqu'au mont Sourava, la délimitation sera faite suivant les dispositions de l'article 3. Des monts Souravant la frontière, suivant continuellement le partage des eaux, passe à Baroch Horan (en laissant en territoire persan le village de Boroch Horan), suit la montagne de Haravil Hanesour Gueclouki, Beleko Chinetal (en laissant en territoire persane le village Kaslik), Goulampi Dagh, Kepper, Sorian, Perikhan, Kertarok, Meidan et Koutoul Dagh.

De Koutoul Dagh jusqu'à la colline située à la distance de près de 2 kilom. au nord-est de Hanik (à la Turquie), la délimitation sera faite suivant les dispositions de l'article 3, étant entendu que les villages de Huvessin, Belik et Hefser restent à la Perse.

A partir de la colline située à la distance près de 2 kilom. au nord-est du village turc de Hanik, la frontière traverse la vallée de Badjirgné et en passant à l'est de Hanik monte sur la crête de Zerbadost, se dirige au nord du village Hadji Khider, passe à l'est du village Bani et, laissant en territoire persan le village d'Erzin, traverse le Nezlitchai, puis passant par le Kalaukani Gueclouki, Chenal Daghi, Tchelberdi Dagh, Kouna Koter, Zinoo Taboutan Halane Gueclouki, Gueletchine Gueclouki, monte sur le sommet de Delaemper Dagh, d'où elle rejoint la borne No. 99 de la frontière turco-irakienne.

2. Une commission mixte d'abornement et de délimitation sera chargée de tracer sur le terrain la frontière décrite à l'article 1er. Cette commission sera composée de représentants de la Turquie et de la Perse à raison de deux délégués pour chaque Puissance désignés avec diligence par les deux Gouvernements. Elle commencera ses travaux au début de juillet 1929 et elle s'efforcera dans tous les cas de suivre au plus près les indications données dans le présent accord. Les décisions de la commission seront prises à l'unanimité et elles seront obligatoires pour les deux parties.

Les dépenses de la commission seront supportées par la Turquie et la Perse parts égales

3 En ce qui concerne les zones litigieuses réservées dans la nomenclature de l'article 1er, c'est-à-dire la délimitation des parties située entre :

(*a*) Karun Yarik jusqu'à un point situé entre les villages de Chentan Abad (Perse) et Guerboran (Turquie), étant entendu que les villages de Kozlan-Keuy et Yarim Kaya resteront à la Perse:

(*b*) Hidir Baba jusqu'au mont Sourava;

(*c*) Kontoul Dagh jusqu'à la colline située à la distance de près de 2 kilom au nord-est de Hanik (à la Turquie), étant entendu que les villages Huvessin, Behik, et Hefser restent à la Perse:

La commission procédera de la manière suivante

Pour le tracé des parties litigieuses la commission s'efforcera de trouver une solution satisfaisante pour les deux parties et elle la soumettra à l'approbation des deux Gouvernements. Dans le cas où un accord n'aurait pu être réalisé à ce sujet, un procès verbal sera dressé par la commission et soumis sans délai à la décision des deux Gouvernements, qui conviennent, d'ores et déjà, de s'adresser d'un commun accord à son Excellence M. le Président du Comité exécutif de l'Union des Républiques soviétistes socialistes, pour la prier de trancher le différend par décision arbitrale. Cette décision sera obligatoire pour les deux parties et la commission d'abornement achèvera son travail d'après les indications de la sentence arbitrale.

4. Un procès-verbal en langue française ainsi qu'une carte de délimitation seront dressés par la commission au terme de ses travaux et ce document fera foi en ce qui concerne le tracé de la frontière turco persane

Veuillez &c
De I RUSTU

C 7779 178 62 No 21

Sir G Clerk to the Marquess of Reading (Received October 19)

(No 337.)

My Lord, *Constantinople, October* 14, 1931.

ON the eve of the opening in Constantinople of the second annual Balkan Conference, Yunus Nadi, owner and editor of the "Republique," has published in his newspaper an interesting article on the Gazi's attitude towards Balkan union

2. According to Yunus Nadi, the Gazi, some three years ago, in the course of an intimate conversation, expressed his firm belief in the possibility of a new *entente* between Turkey and the peoples of the Balkans, based on community of origin, similarity of outlook and a manner of life which, as a result of the mingling for centuries of Turkish and Balkan races, was identical. History showed that while the passage of Ottoman Turks from Asia into Europe was comparatively recent Turks of the primitive stock had long before spread from Turkestan into Russia and the Balkans, and had penetrated from Europe into Anatolia It was false history to maintain that the first settlement of Turks in the Balkan Peninsula was that of the Ottoman Turks. Many centuries before, the Turco-Bulgars of Turanian race had colonised the Danube basin, while Turco Huns ruled from the Carpathians to Thessaly, and perhaps to Morea. The common racial origin of Balkan peoples might be obscured by religion or force, but would ultimately shine out clearly before all. There was no reason why the different Balkan peoples who, mingled together, had led a common life until quite recently should not live in the future in full harmony and understanding Turkey, which by virtue of its successful revolution was worthy to rank with the great European Powers, was, on extension of Europe into Asia, a European, but above all, a Balkan State.

3. Under the force of these ideas the Gazi declared to Yunus Nadi that he felt called to the sublime task of realising a general *entente* of Balkan peoples He would wish not to be called again to the presidency of the republic so that, as a simple head of the Popular party, he might visit all the Balkan States, confer with men of all parties, and inspire them with his belief in the racial bonds and

common feelings uniting Turks and Balkan nationals, and through them work up among the peoples of the Balkan countries an enthusiasm for the idea of agreement among the Balkan races.

4. The article appears to me to ring true. It certainly reflects the Gazi's ideas by now communicated to all who come in contact with him of the Turkish origins of European races and European civilisation, and its publication at this time should be helpful to the cause for which the Balkan delegates are now assembling in Turkey

I have &c
GEORGE R CLERK

C 7834 88 19 No 22

Mr Ramsay to the Marquess of Reading (Received October 21)

(No 485.)

My Lord, *Athens, October* 7, 1931

I HAVE the honour, with reference to my telegram No 154 of the 3rd October, to inform your Lordship that the visit of the Turkish Prime Minister and Minister for Foreign Affairs to Athens passed off in a spirit of cordiality and goodwill.

2 The visitors arrived on board the Turkish ship "Igee" on the 3rd October and were met outside the Piraeus by the cruiser "Helli" and two destroyers while a squadron of aeroplanes flew overhead After exchange of salutes, they were escorted to the Piraeus, where M and Mme Venizelos, M Michalakopoulos with his wife and daughter, those of the other Ministers who were refugees, and numerous officials, were on the quay to receive them The Prime Ministers of Turkey and Greece exchanged a kiss of friendship, and, after some short complimentary remarks to the Mayor of the Piraeus, proceeded to Athens by car The police were massed in great force, but no untoward incidents occurred Certain administrative steps had been taken to ensure the presence of imposing crowds Free tickets were issued in large numbers for persons to proceed to the Piraeus and back, and on completion of the trip it is reported that they received 25 drachmas

3 Athens, for the first time since 1820, was decorated with Turkish flags A large crowd stood along the route and acclaimed the Turkish Ministers, who were accommodated as guests of the Greek Government at the Petit Palais Hotel Later they paid their official calls on M Venizelos, M Michalakopoulos, and on the President of the Republic The usual complimentary speeches were exchanged, stress being laid on the fact that the cordiality of the guests reception was an indication of the feelings of the whole Greek people, feelings which according to Ismet Pasha were heartily reciprocated by the Turkish nation Ismet Pasha delivered to the President a special message from Mustafa Kemal Pasha, in which he sent his best wishes and assured M Zaimis of his complete approval of the policy of Graeco Turkish friendship The Prime Minister and the Minister for Foreign Affairs then returned the Turkish Ministers call, and at 2 P M the guests and the officials who received them had an unofficial lunch

4 After lunch the Turkish guests were shown over the Acropolis by a prominent Greek archæologist and returned to receive representatives of the Greek, Turkish and foreign press Later M Venizelos gave an official banquet of 100 covers at the Grande Bretagne Hotel followed by a reception which I attended After dinner speeches were exchanged the text of which forms an enclosure to this despatch to M Venizelos proposing the health of the Ghazi and the guests, and detailing to them the good friendship declared that the treaties were now approved by all parties and already bore fruit but that they would yield still further benefits to the two countries Greece and Turkey set an example of progress and reconciliation which might well be recommended to other adversaries in the late war They were a living example of

Next page

the worth of the movement for Balkan rapprochement, a movement which, unfortunately, still met with obstacles. One could not see how long it would take to get over the illusion, dear to every nation, that they were always right, and everyone else was always wrong. But Greece and Turkey by their friendship were doing a service to the peace of the world. Ismet Pasha, replying, said it had been his ambition to exchange the ratification of the Treaty of Angora, signed on the 30th October, 1930. The edifice which they had built together was solid because it rested on identity of interests, which would remain as long as geography and economics remained the main factors of contact between the nations. He then quoted, with hearty approval, M. Veniselos's own words to the effect that Greece and Turkey had had enough of warlike adventures, and that so long as the Balkan Union was not achieved, their close collaboration gave the best security for peace in the Balkans.

5. The next morning the Turkish guests were taken to see the new dam at Marathon, which they greatly admired. On their return they were entertained to lunch at Kefissia, together with a number of Turkish and other journalists. The party then proceeded to the Stadium to watch the Balkan athletic games, while Greek aircraft flew up and down in formation under a threatening sky.

6. In the evening the President gave a dinner at the palace in honour of Ismet Pasha and Tewfik Rushdy Bey, followed by a reception to the Diplomatic Corps and others. The principal guests left early to attend a special performance of Othello, in which a Turkish actor played the part of Othello to a Greek Desdemona.

7. The following day, the 5th October, the ratifications of the Treaty of Angora were formally exchanged at the Ministry for Foreign Affairs. Both M. Veniselos and Ismet Pasha made short speeches, in which they emphasised that though they were now completing the formal exchange of ratifications, the treaties had already been amply ratified by the approval of the two peoples. They then pledged the continuation of Greco-Turkish friendship. After the exchange of ratifications, MM. Veniselos and Michalakopoulos, with the Director General of the Ministry for Foreign Affairs, the Turkish Minister to Athens and the Greek Minister to Angora, held a conference, and a communiqué describing the results was subsequently issued to the press. The text, as published in the "Messager d'Athènes," is enclosed.(*) It will be seen that it was agreed that both parties should adopt a conciliatory policy towards their respective minorities; that exchangeables should henceforward be allowed to visit Turkey and Greece respectively, though not to settle there except with special permission; that a conference on tobacco should be held at Constantinople, to which Turkey would also invite Bulgaria; that a mixed commission should be set up to decide upon measures for the suppression of smuggling between Asia Minor and the islands; and, finally, that steps should be taken for the prompt liquidation of the Mixed Commission for the Exchange of Populations. After the conference, M. Veniselos made a declaration to the press in which he again emphasised the identity of interests of the two countries and declared that agreement had been reached on all points in suspense.

8. The party then drove to Eleusis, where they inspected the antiquities and the modern industrial plant of the Conclopoulos factories adjoining, and were entertained to luncheon by the municipality. At 5·30 they attended an official reception in the Chamber of Deputies, where M. Sophoulis, the President of the Chamber, made a speech of welcome, and Ismet Pasha returned a suitable reply. The parliamentary reception was followed by a concert, and then the Turkish Minister gave a dinner at the Grande Bretagne, followed by a reception at the Turkish Legation.

9. On Tuesday, the 6th October, their Excellencies visited the various museums of Athens, and then attended a reception at the Town Hall, where complimentary speeches were exchanged. The mayor might have been expected to absent himself, as his wife was dying, and in fact died that day, but it shows the importance attached to the reception, that he attended and made his speech of welcome. A private lunch with M. Veniselos was followed by a tea party at the Soviet Legation, whence the visitors left directly for the Piræus, where they attended a final reception given by the Mayor of the Piræus before taking leave of the Prime Minister and Minister for Foreign Affairs on the gangway of their ship.

(*) Not printed.

10. The full programme was carried out, there were no unpleasant incidents, and M. Veniselos and his Government may congratulate themselves on an extremely successful visit.

11. I attended the above-mentioned receptions, but was unable, from brief conversations with Ismet Pasha, Tewfik Rushdy Bey and M. Veniselos, to ascertain that anything more concrete was being realised than the confirmation of the Greco-Turkish rapprochement of the previous year. There is no doubt that the Hellenic Government did everything possible to stage a friendly reception for their Turkish visitors and that their efforts met with considerable success. Ismet Pasha, who is very deaf, told me he was touched by the atmosphere of friendship here, and particularly with the Turcophil attitude of the crowd at the Stadium, which was proof of the sincerity of the Greeks. Tewfik Rushdy Bey remarked, with reference to the Graeco-Bulgarian negotiations, that Turkey as a disinterested party was always ready to use her friendly influence with a view to bringing about a settlement. Both Ismet Pasha and Tewfik Rushdy Bey spoke in the most friendly terms of His Majesty's Ambassador at Constantinople.

12. I asked M. Veniselos whether there were any new developments with regard to the position of exchangeable and non-exchangeable Constantinople Greeks. His Excellency said that the treaty provided for the former, that is to say, they could visit Constantinople with the consent of the Turkish Government. With the improved relations, such consent would no doubt be more readily given. As regards the latter and the question of their being able to travel in Turkey, his Excellency remarked that that was a purely internal question, in which the Greek Government had no desire to intervene. His Excellency said that his object was to enhance the atmosphere of friendship rather than to raise the points for discussion, but that, after the formality of exchanging ratifications, there would be an opportunity of a general review of the political situation and current events from a mutually sympathetic standpoint.

13. As M. Veniselos has been confined to his room with a slight cold since the departure of the Turkish Ministers, and the Minister for Foreign Affairs did not receive heads of missions last Friday, I have not had an opportunity of learning what, if any, more concrete results were arrived at.

14. I enclose a translation, extracted from the "Messager d'Athènes," of an article published by M. Veniselos in the review "Ergassia."(*) and citing the occasions in the remote past when Greeks and Turks acted in alliance. His object is to answer the charge that the present Greco-Turkish *entente* is too unnatural to be real. Scrutiny of the dates rather defeats this object, but the article is not devoid of historical interest.

15. I have transmitted a copy of this despatch to His Majesty's Ambassador at Constantinople.

I have, &c.
PATRICK RAMSAY

(*) Not printed.

C 7835 88 19 No. 23

Mr. Ramsay to the Marquess of Reading. (*Received October 21.*)

(No. 186.)

My Lord, *Athens, October 7, 1931*

WITH reference to my despatch No. 185 of to-day's date, I have the honour to report as follows on the attitude and comments of the Athens press with regard to the visit of the Turkish Premier and Minister for Foreign Affairs to Athens.

2. The Government press, the Republican Opposition papers, and "Proia," a moderate Royalist journal, welcome the Greco-Turkish *entente* whole-heartedly, but the other Royalist papers either regard it as a distasteful necessity or are covertly hostile and pretend to believe that an understanding with Turkey has been bought at the cost of some concession by Greece.

3. M. Tsouderos, Minister without Portfolio in Paris, has not only a liquidation of the past which we witness to-day, but it is a

historical creation of the future, which does not deny our past glory, but, on the contrary, renews it in a more noble arena, that of peace, civilisation and progress." "Elefthéron Vema," in an article entitled "A historic Day," says that there are people in Greece, in Turkey and in Western Europe who have been astonished and scandalised at Greco-Turkish friendship, which they describe as a denial of history. But these are superficial readers of history, who take prejudice for tradition and fatalistic slavery to the past for historic continuity. But the Greek people are not deceived, and they have given unanimous consent to the idea of Greco-Turkish friendship and co-operation. They await with conviction the fruits of this idea, the first signs of which they feel in the reduction of the burden of military preparations and in freedom from the not always inexpensive intervention of third parties in their relations with Turkey. As M. Venizelos and Ismet Pasha have put it, the meaning of Greco-Turkish friendship and co-operation is not the ignoring of the past, not slavery to the past, but conscientious co-operation in conquering the present, and progress in the future.

4. Elsewhere "Elefthéron Vema" points out that Greek public opinion has been in complete accord in its sentiments respecting the Greco-Turkish *rapprochement*, with the sole exception of one or two papers which consider it patriotic to appear as champions of the "Great Idea." These papers, it continues, naturally belong to those circles which denied the "Great Idea," and ridiculed it when M. Venizelos was transforming it into a splendid reality, when he led the crowds under the dome of St. Sophia and the sailors to the Sea of Marmara.

5. "Proia" remarks that the indisputable sincerity of the welcome accorded to the Turkish statesmen is due to the fact that the rapprochement corresponds to the real desire of the two peoples, and is therefore a stable and unchangeable policy not to be affected by changes of persons. Greece and Turkey prove by their example that there are no obstacles to a general *entente*, that the reconciliation and union of the peoples is no chimera.

6. Elsewhere "Proia" admits that many Greeks had, at the bottom of their hearts, some doubt as to the future evolution of Greco-Turkish relations because there were not more definitely friendly manifestations on the part of Turkey. "But Ismet Pasha's statements are really proof of more sincerely friendly dispositions."

7. "Akropolis" (Republican Opposition) asks whether the incredible sight of Athens decorated with Turkish flags and welcoming Ismet Pasha and Rashah Bey official representatives of the race, hatred for which was in the very blood of all Greeks, does not shout forth to the world the will of two age-long enemies to live in future in peace, without war, without hatred, and without the odious old revengeful tradition. "Germany and France, Greece and Turkey are at this moment at the head of an international movement for consolidating a pacific *status quo* which will enable mankind to achieve economic restoration and to devote itself to works of progress and civilisation."

8. "Kathemerine" (Royalist) says that it prefers to be silent at a moment when triumphal arches are erected in Athens to welcome the Turkish Ministers. Turkish friendship towards Greece is said by some to be valuable. "Kathemerine" can well believe it, since it has cost so much." However it includes, let the visitors be welcome, and let them believe that the discords arising from the columns of "Kathemerine" do not mean hostility: they are only an example of an inevitable attachment to the past.

9. "Hellenikí" (Royalist) apparently does not consider the event worth a leader, but it takes the opportunity to print articles from correspondents hostile to Turkey and to begin the publication of what purports to be a history of the Balkan Wars.

10. I have forwarded a copy of this despatch to His Majesty's Ambassador at Angora.

I have, &c.
PATRICK RAMSAY

[C 7928/178/62] No. 24.

Sir G. Clerk to the Marquess of Reading. —(*Received October 26.*)

(No. 347.)
My Lord, *Constantinople, October 22, 1931*

WITH reference to my despatch No. 317 of the 30th September last, I have the honour to report that the delegates to the second annual Balkan Conference, to the number of some 200, had all assembled here on the 19th instant, on which day the council of the conference held a preliminary meeting in the Hall of Ceremonies of the Palace of Yildiz. In the evening the presidents of the foreign delegations and the members of the council were entertained to dinner by the president of the conference, Hasan Bey, Deputy for Trebizond and an ex-Minister of Finance.

2. On the following morning, the 20th October, the first plenary session of the conference was held in the Great Hall of Dolmabahçe Palace on the Bosphorus. The whole diplomatic and consular corps, together with numerous journalists and representatives of the Turkish official and social world, were invited to be present at the inaugural ceremony, which I attended with a member of my staff. The Ministers of the four Balkan States other than Turkey and Albania, whose purely nominal Chargé d'Affaires is not accorded official recognition, were present in their special capacity of observers of the conference, and as such will attend all the meetings. The Prime Minister and the Minister for Foreign Affairs arrived last of all, and when they had taken their places the proceedings opened with the playing of the Turkish national anthem, followed by that of each of the five other countries. The president of the conference, Hasan Bey, then addressed the gathering in a speech which began by referring to M. Papanastassiou, the principal Greek delegate, as the "initiator" of the Balkan Conferences, and went on to thank the Gazi for having given them the use of the Dolmabahçe Palace for this year's meeting. Then came complimentary references to last year's conference in Athens, the subsequent preparatory meeting at Salonica, and certain practical achievements of the last twelve months. These included the propagation of ideas of collaboration and mutual understanding between university students of the different Balkan countries, the founding of the Balkan Tourist Federation, and the creation of an inter-Balkan press bureau. In this last connexion, Hasan Bey had to complain of certain old-fashioned habits of the European press outside the Balkans, which was still prone to acrimonious criticism of the Balkan peoples and their affairs. Happily, however, this attitude was becoming more and more rare, and the interest in Balkan union shown by the Carnegie Trust had had a good effect in Western Europe. The proposed meeting of the Foreign Ministers of the Balkan States had unfortunately not taken place, but this had not been the fault of the Ministers. "True idealism," continued Hasan Bey, "consists in considering time as a great factor in favour of successful results, in recognising a faithful helpmate in patience which wears away the will." Seen from this point of view, the result obtained after a year of toil is far from encouraging." Nevertheless, in the times of crisis and instability the whole world was looking for the gleam of light that should announce salvation. Their institution must prove to be the source of that light. Each of their countries represented a force, but they must remember that the strength of each was only the sixth part of that mightier force which it was their task to make one and indivisible.

3. Each of the foreign presidents then addressed the gathering in alphabetical order, and it was, curiously enough, the Albanian delegate, Mehmed Bey Konitza, and not his Bulgarian colleague, M. Yanko Sakozoff, who, even at this early stage, touched on the thorny topic of the treatment of minorities under alien, *i.e.*, Serbian, rule. The proceedings were finally brought to a close by a speech of welcome by the Prime Minister, Ismet Pasha, who introduced into the usual optimistic platitudes a reminder that Turkey had begun by settling all the questions outstanding between her and and her neighbours, and that this primary condition constituted the best basis for international co-operation.

4. In the afternoon there was a meeting *in camerâ* of the various committees of the conference at the Palace of Yildiz, and in the evening the delegates were entertained to dinner at Tokatlian's Hotel by the Mayor Vali of Constantinople. Another similar meeting of the committees was held at Yildiz next morning, the

21st October, when I understand that the minorities question was discussed by the Political Committee, although no statement to that effect has been published. According to this morning's press, the Economic Committee examined and approved a project for the creation of a commercial bureau, whose business it would be to find outlets for Balkan produce, and another project for the protection of cereals and tobacco was referred to a sub-committee. It was decided to found a Balkan Chamber of Commerce, with its seat at Constantinople. In the Social Committee the question of mutual freedom of travel and residence in Balkan countries gave rise to lively discussions, the issue of which was that the mutual abolition of passports for travelling in the Balkans (including, presumably, Turkey in Asia outside the military zones) was alone accepted in principle, the other recommendations of a kindred nature being rejected. In the afternoon, after a visit to the local museums and the Seraglio, the delegates were entertained to tea by the Union of Turkish Women. To-day's programme includes further meetings of the committees at Yildiz, a visit to the principal mosques, &c., and tea, followed by speeches, at the University of Stambul.

5. I am sending copies of this despatch to His Majesty's representatives at Athens, Sofia, Belgrade, Bucharest and Tirana.

I have, &c.
GEORGE R. CLERK.

E 5322 718 44 No. 25.

Sir H. Rumbold to the Marquess of Reading. (Received October 29.)

(No. 533.)

My Lord, *Berne, October 23, 1931.*

I HAVE the honour to inform you that my Turkish colleague recently took the unusual step of inviting certain representatives of the Berlin press to his Embassy in order to communicate to them a statement in regard to the foreign policy of his country. Kemaleddin Sami Pasha summed up the aims of Turkish foreign policy in the formula "Peace and friendship with all." His Excellency said that Turkey was only prepared to contemplate the conclusion of separate agreements in cases where the local situation in the Balkans seemed to make them absolutely essential. He next referred to the Balkan Conference which had opened on the same day (the 20th October) at Constantinople, pointing out that this was the first conference of its kind although it had been preceded recently by unofficial conversations held at Athens between certain representatives of the Balkan countries who were present in a more or less private capacity. This preliminary conference had resulted in an agreement by all Balkan countries to send official representatives to Constantinople.

2. Kémaleddin Sami Pasha laid stress on the fact that any work for peace which was undertaken in the Balkans could only make slow progress in view of the many points of sharp disagreement between the various countries. There could be no doubt as to the nature of the great political questions which stood most urgently in need of solution. These were the question of minorities and that of the revision of frontiers, but it was quite impossible even to think of attacking these questions at present. At least ten years of toilsome endeavour would be necessary before relations would be sufficiently improved to enable them to approach these problems.

3. The Turkish Ambassador went on to refer to the forthcoming visit of the Soviet Commissar for Foreign Affairs, M. Litvinov, to Angora, where he would continue the negotiations, which have already been begun, between Russia and Turkey. The Ambassador said that the two Powers had not, at the moment, any particularly important matters to discuss. The Turkish Government were, however, of the opinion that such meetings between those responsible for the foreign policy of the two neighbouring countries should take place as often as possible. Turkey, he continued, was friendly disposed towards the League of Nations and would perhaps have become a member long ago if she had not been given to understand that there could be no question of her receiving a permanent seat on the Council. To this, however, the Turkish Government considered that she had a right, for the only society in which she would care to enter would be one in which the members were perfectly equal. Russia had not exercised the least pressure on Turkey with a view to keeping her away from Geneva. Turkey, the Ambassador insisted, was free to make what political decisions she wished; at the same time she intended to take no step which might appear to be directed against Russia. He attached great importance to the fact that during the last meeting of the Council of the League conversations had taken place between Tewfik Rushdi Bey and M. Briand regarding the possibility of an agreement as to the question of Turkey's entry into the League. In conclusion, Kémaleddin Sami Pasha stated that the postponed visit of the Turkish Ministers to Rome would take place soon after Litvinov's visit to Angora.

4. I understand that my Turkish colleague has been asked by his Government to go to Angora to be present at M. Litvinov's visit there. The Italian Ambassador, who was at Constantinople before his transfer to Berlin and continues to take an interest in Turkish affairs, recently expressed the view to me that one of the reasons for M. Litvinov's visit to Angora was to endeavour to counteract the considerable influence which M. Venizelos has recently acquired with the Turkish Government.

I have, &c.
HORACE RUMBOLD.

E 5452 1234 44 No. 26.

Mr. Strang to the Marquess of Reading. (Received November 3.)

(No. 554.)

My Lord, *Moscow, October 23, 1931.*

I HAVE the honour to report that M. Litvinov, People's Commissar for Foreign Affairs, left Moscow for Angora on the evening of the 22nd October to return the visit paid to Moscow a year ago by Tevfik Rustu Bey. This visit was, I think, arranged when the Turkish Foreign Minister was here.

2. It is natural to suppose that, in addition to trying to co-ordinate the attitude of the two Governments in view of the forthcoming Disarmament Conference, M. Litvinov will do his best to wean Turkey from the idea of becoming a member of the League of Nations and from any purpose she may have of entering into a financial arrangement with United States capitalists. These are the leading ideas of an article in the "Izvestiya" of the 22nd October, which observes that the Great Powers are not in a position to help Turkey, but are more likely to plunder her, and that the League, which is their *alter ego*, would in such an event stand idly by; Turkey's policy should therefore be to develop herself in reliance upon her own resources, and to await the day, now approaching, when the Soviet Union will be able to show the world for the first time an example of international economic assistance based not upon exploitation but upon equality. A translation of the relevant paragraphs of the article is enclosed (1).

I have, &c.
WILLIAM STRANG.

(1) Not printed.

E 5453 1234 44 No. 27.

Sir G. Clerk to the Marquess of Reading. (Received November 3.)

(No. 353.)

My Lord, *Angora, October 28, 1931.*

I HAVE the honour to report that M. Litvinoff, Soviet Commissary for Foreign Affairs, arrived at Angora on the 27th October at the invitation of the Turkish Government, and will remain as its guest until the 30th instant. During his stay he will assist at the ceremonies which will take place on the 29th October on the occasion of the National Holiday of the Republic. The visit was arranged early in the present year, as mentioned in Mr. Morgan's despatch No. 113 of the 31st March to the Foreign Office, and has no ostensible object other than that of strengthening and emphasising the ties of friendship that unite Turkey and Russia. It might, indeed, possibly have remained unpaid, but for the visit of the Earl of Athlone in April last (see my despatch No. 148 of the 29th April).

2. In a speech made on arrival at Constantinople to members of the Turkish press, M. Litvinoff expressed his pleasure at visiting Turkey, which for over ten years had been joined to Russia by ties of friendship and common endeavour, and at having the opportunity of seeing again his old friend Tevfik Rustu Bey, and of entering into contact with Turkey's statesmen. Friendship with Turkey was the keystone of Russian foreign policy. Each nation had such confidence in the other that, without any anxiety, it left the other free to follow its own independent line whenever it seemed preferable to do so. The relations which Turkey and Russia maintained, despite their different social and economic policies, were an exemplar to other foreign States, and a powerful factor for peace. Both nations desired peace. Russia, as all its energies were needed to rear the edifice of socialism, and to carry out its plan of making agriculture collective and technical, and Turkey, in order to develop its natural sources of wealth, its industry and its economic life. He was certain that both nations would in future collaborate in the economic and technical field.

3. Compared with the great enthusiasm of M. Venizelos's visit, and of the meetings of the Balkan Conference, M. Litvinoff's reception in Angora seems prosaic and matter-of-fact, but I cannot draw the conclusion that Russo-Turkish relations—despite Turkish irritation at Russian dumping and communistic activities in Turkey—are showing any signs of being less close than in the past.

4. A copy of this despatch is being sent to His Majesty's Ambassador in Moscow.

I have, &c.
GEORGE R. CLERK.

C 8151 178 62 No. 28

Sir G. Clerk to the Marquess of Reading. (*Received November 3.*)

(No. 352.)

My Lord, *Constantinople, October 26, 1931.*

IN continuation of my despatch No. 347 of the 22nd October, I have the honour to report that, on that day, the secretary-general of the Second Balkan Conference issued a communiqué stating that the council had discussed the same morning the questions of the Balkan Pact and of political rapprochement, and had decided that the pact should be examined afresh by a special committee, which would take into account all the amendments suggested, including those concerning the minorities. The council had also declared itself in favour of a multilateral arbitration pact, and this project would be submitted to the conference. Finally, the council had expressed the hope that the various national organisations would, pending the elaboration of this pact, arrive at an agreement among themselves regarding all the questions which stood in the way of a moral *détente* between the different Balkan countries.

2. It was announced later that the council had also recommended that the Foreign Ministers of all the Balkan States should be invited to meet each year in the same city in which the conference was to be held.

3. Meanwhile, as foreshadowed at the end of paragraph 1 of my despatch under reference, the various committees had been deliberating at Yildiz, and some account of their proceedings was given in the press of the 23rd October, which stated, somewhat cryptically, that, according to the decision of the committee concerned, the committee of jurists entrusted with the elaboration of the scheme for unifying the legal codes of the Balkan States should get in touch for this purpose with organisations of a similar nature. The Communications Committee brought its activities to a close by approving certain resolutions in favour of improved passenger and postal services by road, railway, steamship and aeroplane, and among its recommendations to be submitted to the council were a draft postal union convention in four articles and a report dealing with the Roll on Tourist Federation. The discussions in the other committees seem to have been somewhat less conclusive, but those in the Political Committee did at least give rise to considerable lucubration. On this occasion also the chief Albanian delegate and not his Bulgarian colleague (see paragraph 3 of my despatch under reference) took the lead in calling attention to the misdeeds of

Yugoslavia, whose spokesman reiterated the old and, as it must sound to local ears, ludicrous assertion that his country was in the happy position of having no minorities at all. The Bulgarian and Greek representatives also engaged in long and excited discussions about the Bulgarian minority in Greek Macedonia, and, undeterred by an expression of Yugoslav preference for concentration on economic themes, the Albanians put forward a proposal, which appears to have met with no success, for the formation of a "model" committee to investigate the condition of the minorities and see to the application of the stipulations concerning them.

4. The following day, the 23rd October, was marked by the second plenary session of the conference, held in the Palace of Yildiz. The proceedings opened with the reading aloud of cordially-worded telegrams from the Balkan Prime Ministers, thanking the conference for messages received, after which Mr. Cummings, representing the League of Nations, thanked the delegates for allowing him to be present at their deliberations, and wished them success as workers in a cause which was in full accord with the spirit of the League. M. Ludwig Quidde then addressed the conference on behalf of the International Peace Bureau, after which the Turkish *rapporteur* of the Communications Committee referred to a project, which it had discussed, for a railway to traverse the Balkans from the Black Sea to the Adriatic. The committee had also gone into the question of a Balkan Postal Union, and though their wishes in this respect might be somewhat difficult of realisation, they trusted that their respective Governments would sanction their proposals and thus enable the conference to score a real success. Other speakers followed on the same subject, and a proposal by M. Papanastassiou, the principal Greek delegate, that an article be added to the draft Postal Union Convention, making it operative in respect of as many Governments, even if only two, as agree to accede to it, received a warm welcome from the conference and was approved by acclamation. The Turkish *rapporteur* of the Hygiene and Social Services Committee then read his committee's report in favour of a Balkan Sanitary Information Bureau, a subject which did not rouse the delegates to any marked enthusiasm. A Greek delegate having read the report of the committee interested on the question of the unification of the Balkan legal codes, a process which a Roumanian speaker insisted should apply also to criminal law, a discussion took place which showed that the delegates were in favour of the principle of unification and of setting up a special committee or sub-committee to prepare the way. The reports of all the committees were adopted unanimously, but a member of my staff who was present tells me that the majority of the delegates manifested very little interest in the proceedings, and an afternoon cruise on the Bosphorus was doubtless a welcome relief after a particularly tedious session. Tea was served in the white marble palace of Beylerbey, where Abdul Hamid died in captivity, and the day's programme was concluded by a ball given by the Mayor-Vali of Constantinople in the Hall of Ceremonies of the Great Palace of Dolmabahce, whence the last of the Sultans took his flight. This function was attended by practically the whole Diplomatic Corps then in Constantinople, including myself and most of my staff, by the consular corps and by a host of local notabilities.

5. The outstanding event of the following day, the 24th October, was the second Roumanian delegate's submission to the Political Committee, which had again been engaging in heated discussions on the minorities, of a formula designed to bring about some kind of agreement on this thorny subject. M. Pella's formula had at any rate the effect of oil on troubled waters, and, after some slight amendments had been introduced, was adopted unanimously. A French translation of it, as published by the "Akcham," is enclosed herein. It will be seen that by the proposed institution of a special committee of investigation, which is to draw up a report for submission to the next Balkan Conference a convenient shelf has been provided for putting the question away for a year. This happy consummation was followed by an excursion to the Island of Prinkipo where the delegates were treated to tea at the Yacht Club by the Constantinople Chamber of Commerce.

6. The third plenary session was held, again at Yildiz, on the 25th October, and was largely occupied with the discussion of "the nationality of the married woman," and of the inconveniences arising from the fact that, whereas in most cases a woman acquires on marriage the nationality of her husband, she retains her own nationality in accordance with the law of Turkey, and also, it was stated,

of Roumania. The protracted discussion which followed, and in which a Princess Cantacuzène took a prominent part, was finally terminated by the passing, by no means unanimously, of the following resolution, proposed by a Turkish delegate:

"Les représentants de chaque pays balkanique doivent soumettre des mémoires concernant l'égalité des sexes en matière de nationalité et sur lesquels la Commission d'Hygiène and Social Services) examinera ensuite pour élaborer plus tard un projet de convention."

Pious wishes were expressed and resolutions adopted on a number of other subjects, including the treatment of foreigners, the abolition of visas, travelling facilities for workmen, the erection of monuments in honour of each other's soldiers killed in recent wars, the formation of a Balkan Ex-soldiers' Union, and the teaching of the Balkan Union in each of the six countries. More resolutions followed dealing with the protection of the trade in tobacco and cereals, and numerous subjects remained over for discussion when the time came to embark for Haydarpasa, where several special *trains de luxe* were waiting to transport the conference to the capital of the new Turkey.

7. I am sending copies of this despatch to His Majesty's representatives at Athens, Belgrade, Bucharest, Durazzo and Sofia.

I have &c.
GEORGE R. CLERK.

Enclosure in No. 28.

Extract from "Aksham" of October 25, 1931.

M. PELLA'S MINORITIES FORMULA.

Le Conseil d'administration a pour mission de référer à un comité spécial l'étude de projet de pacte balkanique et de prendre simultanément les dispositions nécessaires en vue de veiller à l'application loyale du traité de paix et d'aplanir le problème des minorités et de supprimer les foyers des aspirations belliqueuses parmi les peuples des Balkans.

La commission d'études se chargera d'élaborer un rapport sur ces problèmes en vue de le soumettre à la troisième conférence balkanique. Ce rapport sera communiqué aux groupements ethniques trois mois avant la convocation de la prochaine conférence.

2. Il est reconnu à l'urgence de la conclusion d'une convention d'arbitrage entre les six peuples balkaniques.

3. Jusqu'à la conclusion du pacte balkanique on déploiera tous les efforts en vue de maintenir les bonnes relations entre les six pays balkaniques et d'exécuter les obligations découlant des traités conclus tout comme celles ayant trait aux questions des minorités.

4. On adopte en principe de mener d'un commun accord les préparatifs pour la participation à la Conférence du Désarmement qui sera convoquée le 2 février 1932 à Genève.

5. Il sera donné une prompte suite à la décision de la première conférence balkanique concernant la réunion de tous les Ministres des Affaires étrangères des pays balkaniques.

C 8152 178 62 No. 29

Sir G. Clerk to the Marquess of Reading. (*Received November 3.*)

(No. 354.)

My Lord, *Angora, October 28, 1931.*

THE delegates to the Second Balkan Conference whose departure from Constantinople I reported in my despatch No. 352 of the 26th instant, arrived here the following morning, the 26th October, and were met by the municipal authorities, under whose auspices they were shown the sights of the town. The

Minister for Foreign Affairs entertained them to lunch, and at three o'clock they repaired to the Grand National Assembly building, where they were received by the President of the Republic accompanied by the President of the Assembly, the Minister for Foreign Affairs and the Minister of the Interior. The Gazi received each delegation separately, in alphabetical order, and then delivered a general address of welcome in French. A copy of the official text of his Excellency's speech is enclosed herein.(1)

2. The next item on the programme was the fourth and last plenary session of the conference, held in the Chamber where the delegates were already assembled. In the course of the session M. Pella, Vice-President of the Roumanian delegation and *rapporteur* of the Political Committee, read the resolutions which it had drawn up, and which were now unanimously adopted amid loud applause. I have the honour to transmit to your Lordship herewith a copy of the text of these resolutions as published in the press. The session, which was necessarily short owing to the exigencies of the official programme of the visit, was brought to an end by speeches by Resen Esref and Hasan Beys, respectively secretary-general and president of the conference.

3. The visitors then proceeded to the Gazi's farm, where tea was served, and the Prime Minister, Ismet Pasha, conversed with the delegates and the journalists who accompanied them. In the evening they were present at a really excellent concert of European music in the theatre of the former Turkish Ojak building (now known since its acquisition by the Popular party, as the "House of the People"). The programme was rendered by the Gazi's own orchestra, and was followed with rapt attention by everyone present except the Gazi himself, who, surrounded by his Ministers and "adopted daughters," kept up a constant and animated conversation, which was particularly distracting during the soft passages.

4. It was long after midnight when the weary delegates were conducted to their trains which left in the small hours for Constantinople *en route* for the various Balkan capitals. The journalists were given the option of remaining at Angora, if they so wished, in order to be present at the festivities connected with the Feast of the Republic on the 29th October.

5. I am sending a copy of this despatch to His Majesty's representatives at Athens, Belgrade, Bucharest, Durazzo and Sofia.

I have &c.
GEORGE R. CLERK.

(1) Not printed.

C 8153 173 62 No. 30

Sir G. Clerk to the Marquess of Reading. (*Received November 3.*)

(No. 355.)

My Lord, *Angora, October 28, 1931.*

THE Balkan Conference, whose proceedings have been recounted at, I fear, rather tedious length, measured by their importance, in my despatches No. 352 of the 26th and No. 354 of the 28th instant, has involved the countries concerned, and especially this year's host, Turkey, in expenses that they can ill afford, and I have an impression that considerable misgivings exist as to whether the results justify the cost. Such a gathering provides too good a stage for Bulgaria and Albania to refrain from airing the grievances of their minorities, however carefully those who draft the "ordres du jour" may try to exclude that unpleasant topic. And until the minorities question finds a definite solution, not only is Balkan union a myth but there is always a risk of the myth being painfully and publicly exploded at the conference.

2. That it did not happen on this occasion was due principally to two men. Fevtik Rustü Bey had intended to go with Ismet Pasha to Angora immediately after the formal opening of the conference, but he very kindly waited on for two days in order to be present at a theatrical performance which my wife was giving in the Embassy for Turkish charities, and he told me on that occasion that it was most fortunate he had done so as he had been able to find the means and the formulas to avert a dangerous situation. And in the conference itself I am

informed that M. Papanastassiou, the leader of the Greek delegation, was invaluable. When tempers were rising and language losing all pretence to any, even Balkan, parliamentary character, his intervention soothed the tumult and his suggestions provided the issue.

3. The six Balkan States might be put into three groups: Right, Neutral and Left. Right: Yugoslavia and Roumania, to whom the war brought more than their wildest dreams, and who resent and resist any threat to reduce their gains. Neutral: Turkey and Greece, to whom the war brought not only both loss and gain, but a hard sense of realities. Both countries have learnt their lesson well and both only desire peace and to ensue it. The Greek, maybe, remains a Greek, and where drachmas are at stake will try to drive the hardest bargain he can, but neither he nor the Turk seeks, in foreign policy, anything beyond peace and good understanding. Left: Albania and Bulgaria, the former barely awakened to its national birth, resenting its unhappy position between Italy and Yugoslavia and feeling obscurely that it would count for more if its people beyond its narrow frontiers were recognised as Albanians; the latter, resentful, suspicious and tenacious, and thinking it has little to lose and much to gain by refusing to accept things as they are to-day. So that, while I am not prepared to say that either Tevfik Rüstü Bey or M. Papanastassiou is a Heaven-sent pacificator, it is something to the good that their intervention proved successful on this occasion, for if Balkan unity is ever to be achieved, it is Greece and Turkey that must bring it about.

4. I am sending copies of this despatch to His Majesty's representatives at Athens, Belgrade, Bucharest, Durazzo and Sofia.

I have &c.

GEORGE CLERK

E 5543/1234/44 No. 61

Sir G. Clerk to the Marquess of Reading. (*Received November 9*)

(No. 358)

Angora, November 1, 1931

My Lord,

IN continuation of my despatch No. 353 of the 28th October regarding the visit to Turkey of M. Litvinoff, Soviet Commissary for Foreign Affairs, I have the honour to report that the ceremonial on the occasion of his stay followed the usual lines. He was received by the President of the Republic, was entertained at luncheon or dinner by the Prime Minister, by the Minister for Foreign Affairs and by the President of the Grand National Assembly, and in his turn entertained these and other notable personages at the Soviet Embassy. On the eve of his departure he was the principal guest of honour at the review held on the national holiday of the republic.

2. According to the Turkish press the visit has no other object than that of consolidating the long-established friendly relations between Turkey and Russia. Such relations had rarely been possible when Tsars and Sultans reigned, for the two peoples had then been stirred to artificial hostility against one another. Turkey could not forget that Soviet Russia had been her friend in her hour of need, a kindness reciprocated by Turkey when Soviet Russia was menaced on all fronts. The friendship of the two peoples was a powerful factor for peace in the Near East. The "Son Posta" suggests that Soviet Russia fears that Turkey, under the pressure of financial need, may yield to the imperialistic Powers in Europe and America and come to an understanding with them, and join the League of Nations, and that, in consequence, M. Litvinoff has come to Turkey to tell its statesmen and the Turkish press and people that the time is not far off when Russia will be able to help Turkey economically. The "Hakimyeti Milliye" too expresses a hope that M. Litvinoff's remarks about wider economic co-operation signify something in the nature of financial help.

3. At a dinner given in honour of M. Litvinoff by Dr. Tevfik Rüstü on the 27th October speeches were delivered by those two Ministers. The Turkish Minister described the profound feelings of friendship and sympathy of the Turkish people for their great neighbour and friend, and his firm conviction that

the recently concluded commercial treaty would give a new impetus to mutual economic relations. In regard to the foreign policy of the two countries he declared that each of them was working for peace, which was vitally necessary for the cause of the interior progress and welfare of both peoples. He stated also that advantage would be taken of M. Litvinoff's visit to extend the duration of the Treaty of Friendship and Neutrality of the 17th December, 1925, and its appendices.

4. In reply M. Litvinoff expressed his pleasure at his reception in Angora so closely linked with Turkey's most brilliant success in her national struggle and her development in recent years. Turco-Soviet friendship had its roots in the hearts of the people of the two countries. It was founded on mutual confidence and was strengthened by collaboration in the cause of universal peace. He referred to the recently-concluded commercial treaty as a proof of the respect of each party for the social and economic organisation of the other, and praised the energy of the Gazi and of Ismet Pasha in economic organisation and in developing the natural resources of Turkey. As the time approached when the economic development of Turkey and the Soviet Republics reached its zenith, the field of economic collaboration between the two countries would widen. M. Litvinoff concluded by expressing his pleasure at being afforded the opportunity during his visit of signing the extension of the period of validity of the Treaty of Friendship and Neutrality of the 17th December 1925.

5. The signature of the Protocol of Extension of the treaty and its annexes took place on the 30th October, and its effect is to prolong for five years from the dates when they would otherwise have expired the validity of the following instruments:

(*a*) The Treaty of Friendship and Neutrality concluded at Paris on the 17th December, 1925, and its appendices three protocols of the same date.

(*b*) The protocol, signed at Angora on the 17th December, 1929, extending the treaty of 1925, and

(*c*) The Naval Protocol of the 7th March, 1931.

References to these acts will be found in Constantinople despatches Nos. 930 of the 23rd December, 1925, 400 of the 18th December, 1929, and 84 of the 12th March, 1931. The text of the Protocol of Extension is being forwarded to your Lordship in a separate despatch.

6. M. Litvinoff left Angora on the 30th October and a communiqué, of which the following is a translation, was issued:

"Very cordial conversations took place between M. Litvinoff, Commissary for Foreign Affairs of the U.S.S.R., on the one hand, and Ismet Pasha Prime Minister of the Turkish Republic, and Tevfik Rüstü Bey, Minister for Foreign Affairs, on the other. In these conversations, in which M. Suritz, Ambassador in Turkey of the Soviet Union and Hüseyin Ragip Bey, Ambassador of Turkey in Moscow, participated, there was an exchange of ideas about questions connected with the relations of the two countries and on big international questions. As a result of these conversations the soundness of the basis on which Turco-Soviet friendship sealed ten years ago reposed was once more verified and the possibilities of great development which the present Turco-Russian economic relations offered were recognised. In the course of these conversations which had for their object the preservation of peace and the continuation of cordial and close relations existing between the two countries, the most complete and absolute concordance of ideas of both parties was shown.

"M. Litvinoff repeated the invitation given to Ismet Pasha to visit Moscow by M. Suritz some time ago in the name of the Government of the Soviet Union, an invitation which was accepted with great pleasure. The date of the visit will be fixed later.

"One of the happiest results of the above fruitful interviews is the extension of the period of validity of the Treaty of Friendship and Neutrality signed at Paris on the 17th December, 1925, and the three protocols of the same date which are attached to it; of the Protocol of Extension signed at Angora and dated the 17th December 1929 and of the Naval Protocol also signed at Angora on the 7th March, 1931.

7. I understand that M. Litvinoff will take advantage of a short stay in Venice to meet certain Italian personalities and will then return, probably via Berlin, to Moscow.

8. I am sending a copy of this despatch to His Majesty's Ambassador at Moscow.

I have, &c.
GEORGE R. CLERK

E 5544/69/44 No. 32

Sir G. Clerk to the Marquess of Reading. (*Received November 9.*)

(No. 359.)

My Lord, *Angora, November 1, 1931.*

I HAVE the honour to report that the first session of the fourth Grand National Assembly was opened to-day by the President of the Turkish Republic, who pronounced on this occasion a speech of which I enclose a copy.(1)

2. It will be seen that the Gazi referred to the necessity for economy, confidence in the Government and peace at home and abroad in face of the international crisis, and that, in speaking of Turkey's foreign relations, he declared that Turkey's object was, through a policy of peace, to assure her own security. I have attended many sessions of the Assembly and for the first time I gathered the impression that the faint applause which was occasionally heard during the speech was entirely perfunctory. Half-hearted during the Gazi's references to the visits of Ismet Pasha and Tevfik Rüstü Bey to Athens and Budapest, it was conspicuously absent when he mentioned the visits to Turkey of King Faisal and M. Litvinoff, although opportunity was given the Deputies to express audibly their feelings if they so wished. It seemed as though their interest in foreign countries was entirely lacking, and that even the presence of the President stirred them to little enthusiasm in the ceremony.

3. Fethi Bey, ex-leader of the defunct Opposition, and Mme. Fethi Bey occupied the presidential box. They are at present staying with the Gazi, from whom it is reported that Fethi Bey receives an allowance to console him for the loss of his diplomatic and parliamentary emoluments.

I have, &c.
GEORGE R. CLERK

(1) Not printed.

E 5545/1234/44 No. 33.

Sir G. Clerk to the Marquess of Reading. (*Received November 9.*)

(No. 361. Confidential.)

My Lord, *Angora, November 1, 1931.*

MY despatches Nos. 353 and 358 of the 28th October and the 1st November have recorded the outward form of the official visit of the Soviet Commissary for Foreign Affairs to Turkey. The inner meaning of the event is harder to set forth, and I can only give a personal impression, which is that M. Litvinoff has gone away rather annoyed than otherwise.

2. Although a visit this autumn was vaguely arranged last March, I am fairly confident that it only became a certainty from the Russian side, a necessity, after the striking reception given to the Earl of Athlone and Her Royal Highness Princess Alice in April; and, as a counter-blast, it has fallen distinctly flat. True, the press has paid its full meed of lip-service, but no impartial observer could describe the general attitude as other than apathetic. If I wanted confirmation of this, I had it half an hour ago, when I was listening to the Gazi opening the first session of the Fourth Grand National Assembly. His Excellency's warm allusion to the visit of M. Litvinoff and to Turkey's "grande amie," Soviet Russia, was listened to in complete silence by the Deputies, normally only too eager to take the Gazi's signal for a storm of handclaps.

3. Again, I have reason to believe that M. Litvinoff expressed considerable disapproval of Turkey's flirtation with the League of Nations and received a reply that was far from satisfying him, while, in one instance, of a direct proposal, namely, that Turkey should close the Dardanelles if Russia were at war– I am told from a good source that he met with a direct refusal. Lastly, the general election at home certainly threw a shadow over the occasion, at least so far as M. Litvinoff was concerned. My Swedish colleague, who was for years in Moscow and in close personal relations with M. and Mme. Litvinoff, told me that the latter, evidently echoing her husband, called the election a tragedy for Russia, and he also said that M. Litvinoff, whom he saw off on Friday, left here depressed and in a bad temper. I should in justice add that M. Heidenstam found M. Litvinoff very troubled about the condition of things in Russia, so that his depression may not have been entirely due to disappointment with the visit to Angora, but it is probably equally true that he found little here to cheer him up.

4. By what I have written above I do not wish to convey that there has been any serious weakening of the friendship between Russia and Turkey. What I think has happened has been that M. Litvinoff has learnt that Turkey is definitely out of Russian leading-strings, and that he does not like it.

5. I am sending a copy of this despatch to His Majesty's Ambassador at Moscow.

I have, &c.
GEORGE R. CLERK

E 5546/69/44 No. 34.

Sir G. Clerk to the Marquess of Reading. (*Received November 9.*)

(No. 364.)

My Lord, *Angora, November 1, 1931.*

WITH reference to my despatch No. 423 of the 4th November, 1930, I have the honour to report that the annual celebration of the national holiday of the Turkish Republic took place on the 29th ultimo. M. Litvinoff, Soviet Commissary for Foreign Affairs, and Mme. Litvinoff were present at the celebration as guests of honour of the Turkish Government.

2. Following the reception of the members of the Diplomatic Body by the President of the Republic, detachments of the land, sea and air forces and of boy scouts passed in review before the Gazi. The sturdiness and virility of the troops were as impressive as usual, while the alignment and marching were better than last year. New features were a battery of Bofers mountain guns and four Vickers anti-aircraft guns drawn by caterpillar tractors and the formation flying of the numerous aeroplanes, while there was happily no repetition of last year's aerial acrobatics. The boy scouts were more numerous than in previous years, perhaps to emphasise the peaceful, side by side with the warlike, activities of the State. After the passage of the boy scouts, the presidential patience, as usual, gave out, and the schoolgirls and others who, year by year, wait to take their part in the review were again frustrated in their hopes. The effect of the review on the spectators is thus summarised by a writer in the "Hakimiyeti Milliye":

> "M. Litvinoff beheld with profound satisfaction this awe-inspiring manifestation of a friendly and neighbouring State. In the Ambassadors' stand there reigned a silence of appreciation and of close attention while each detachment came in for its separate share of the applause of the Deputies of the nation."

3. The Gazi drove away from the review with Fethi Bey, ex-leader of the short-lived Opposition, and in the evening was present at a dinner to M. and Mme. Litvinoff and the Diplomatic Body at the Angora Palace Hotel. The dinner was followed by a ball at the hotel given by the Republican Popular party, and this lasted until the early hours of the morning. I profess no judgment of feminine fashions, but if the dress of its women is one of the measures of a country's standard of life even my ignorant eye can see a steady

advance in modishness from year to year, though Angora may still be far from Paris. The fact that Mme. Litvinoff was much impressed by the well-dressed appearance of the ladies present at the ball, while a Brazilian secretary, fresh from the cabarets and night clubs of the West, declared that he had rarely seen so many people badly attired, shows fairly exactly the degree of "smartness" that the ladies of Angora have reached.

4. The Gazi, as usual, outstayed most of the guests, and took occasion at a late hour of the presence of the British and French military attachés to let them know in all solemnity that their respective countries had conquered most of the world, but were at present acting against humanity, and that he hoped they would not persist in such a course. His Excellency, as he was leaving, enjoined on Major O'Leary to remember every word that he (the Gazi) had said, whereupon Fethi Bey, who had been doing the translating, said *sotto voce* that, for himself, he trusted Major O'Leary would forget every word. On which, at 7 A.M., the celebration of the National Day drew to its close.

I have, &c.

GEORGE R. CLERK.

E 5547/206/89 No. 53

Sir G. Clerk to the Marquess of Reading. (*Received November 9.*)

(No. 396 Very Confidential.)

My Lord, *Angora, November 2, 1931*

HAVING waited for an hour at the Ministry for Foreign Affairs this afternoon to keep an appointment made by the Minister, I decided that I had sufficiently complied with the requirements of official courtesy and returned home, leaving word that I had not liked to force myself on his Excellency, as he was apparently seriously engaged, but that I was at his disposal whenever he wished to see me. Shortly after I got back, I was rung up by Tevfik Rüstü Bey with profuse apologies for a staff error—his Excellency had never been told that I was waiting to see him—and an urgent request to receive him at once. I begged his Excellency not to bother, for the hour was late and there was no pressing need for an interview. However, the Minister insisted and arrived at eight o'clock.

2. I have seen Tevfik Rüstü Bey excited and vehement, but I have never seen him so agitated as he was on this occasion. The cause of this agitation was, as I briefly reported to your Lordship in my telegram No. 65 of to-day, that he had just received confirmation of an offer of the throne of Syria by the French Government to King Feisal, which offer it seemed probable that His Majesty would accept. I asked the Minister if he was quite sure of all this, of which I'd seen vague reports in the press, for to me it seemed that King Feisal would be kept busy enough in Iraq without adding the problems of Syria to his burden. Tevfik Rüstü replied that King Feisal in Bagdad had admitted having received the offer and had said that his acceptance depended upon a satisfactory settlement of the conditions attaching to it, while it was a fact that when the King was in Paris M. Berthelot had, at some banquet in his honour, drunk a toast to the King of Iraq and Syria which His Majesty had accepted *sub silentio*.

3. The Minister for Foreign Affairs then launched forth. He said that he was in despair over French policy in Syria—or rather, it was not the policy of France or even of the French Government, but of M. Berthelot, and, at the back of M. Berthelot, the Banque de Paris et des Pays-Bas, otherwise M. Finaly. It was not the first time that M. Berthelot and banks had worked together, and the precedent had not been a happy one. His Excellency had no objection, *per se*, to a union of Iraq and Syria under one head, nor indeed to an Arab union, provided that the conditions in Syria were the same as they were in Iraq, where our position caused the Turkish Government no anxiety at all. We had been perfectly straightforward in our dealings with Turkey as regards Iraq, and he recognised that, with our commitments in India and the East, Iraq must have a definite political interest for us. But we had left, or were about to leave, Iraq to full independence and the Iraq frontier would be defended by Iraq soldiers. That

was far from being the case in the proposed arrangement about Syria. There, the French troops and French administration were to remain, and King Feisal would merely be a means of extending French influence into Asia. Turkey was at peace with all her other neighbours and on the best of terms with them. The best proof of how secure she felt in the good intentions of the neighbouring countries was that on the frontiers contiguous to Greece, Bulgaria, Russia and Iraq there were no soldiers, nor were there any on the coast facing the possessions of Italy, while those that were maintained on the Persian frontier were solely there, not for fear of any aggression on the part of Persia, which was out of the question, but, he was sorry to have to admit, because of the weakness of the Persian administration. Only opposite the Syrian frontier did the Turkish Government feel any nervousness, and in that region Turkey was obliged to maintain from two to three divisions. Turkey was as friendlily disposed to France as to any other Power, but the Minister felt that France could not forgive Turkey for refusing to become, at least in spirit, a member of the Little *Entente*. Turkey for her part was determined to have no entangling alliances. She only sought to live at peace with all the world and to develop herself as a cultured and civilised European State. She had definitely cut loose from Asia. There was a time when she had thought of playing a rôle in Afghanistan, but she had been let down and his Excellency had never been more thankful than when he had safely extricated the Turkish Military Mission and his other nationals from the mess made by Amanullah. From that time Turkey's eyes were fixed on the West, and she was so good a European that he was prepared to welcome the extension of the International Straits Commission to the whole of the Black Sea, while he made no secret of his wish that Turkey should join the League of Nations, as he had just told M. Litvinoff. The Soviet Commissary had replied that while Moscow considered that Turkey was wrong, she was an independent country and was free to decide as she thought best. (This is interesting as corroborating the reasons for M. Litvinoff's dissatisfaction with his visit suggested in my despatch No. 361 of the 1st instant.) Turkey was, moreover, an upholder of Europe as it was to-day. Theoretically, she might share some of the misgivings about the sanctity of the Treaty of Versailles, but she was above all a realist in her policy, and she would never take an active part in upsetting the treaty. But neither would Turkey consent to be the "gendarme" of Versailles. Perhaps that was why France made things so difficult. His Excellency was frankly at a loss to know what France was aiming at in the Near East. He only knew that he was filled with anxiety by this latest development. Had he got to guard against an eventual move on Cilicia, or had he to expect French political penetration through Syria and Iraq into Asia? If the invitation to Feisal had no sinister basis, why had Turkey been kept in the dark and left to find out what was happening by herself?

4. The Minister talked for over an hour with more than his usual volubility, and I have tried to give your Lordship the gist of his observations, but I cannot pretend to complete accuracy. His Excellency made no direct request, and seemed to be using me more as an outlet for the expression of his feelings than for anything else. None the less it was obvious that he hoped for some assurance from us, either that Feisal would not accept the throne of Syria except on conditions analogous to those in Iraq, or that we were confident that France had no ulterior aims when extending the invitation to the King.

5. Your Lordship will doubtless instruct me in due course as to the line you wish me to take if and when Tevfik Rüstü recurs to the subject, but it is clear that it will not be easy to eradicate the intense suspicion which the Turkish Government feels towards French policy in Syria, or perhaps I should say which Tevfik Rüstü feels towards M. Berthelot and the Banque de Paris et des Pays-Bas. I have always considered that the Ottoman Bank, or rather the French Board, have underestimated not only the determination of the Turkish Government to avoid submission to French financial control in any shape or form, but also the power of Turkey to retain her independence. The attitude of the bank has been that it has only got to sit tight and sooner or later the Turkish Government will be bound to come to it on bended knees for the wherewithal to carry on. This I believe to be an entire misreading of the situation, but it seems to have inspired the policy of the bank from the start, and the feeling that this is the bank's policy lies to my mind at the root of much of the uneasiness displayed in Tevfik Rustu Bey's outburst.

6. My French colleague, who usually talks to me very openly of his relations with the Turkish Government, so far as they have an interest for us, has not said a word on this matter of the Syrian throne, and as his Excellency is in Constantinople at the moment I shall have no opportunity of any discussion with him for some little time.

I have, &c.
GEORGE R. CLERK

E 5548 1234 44 No. 36.

Sir G. Clerk to the Marquess of Reading. (*Received November 9.*)

(No. 367.)
My Lord, *Angora, November 3, 1931.*

WITH reference to paragraph 5 of my despatch No. 358 of the 1st instant, I have the honour to transmit to your Lordship herewith a copy of the protocol, signed at Angora on the 30th October last, extending for five years the duration of: (1) the Russo-Turkish Treaty of Friendship and Neutrality of the 17th December, 1925, (2) the Protocol of Extension of the above treaty, dated the 17th December, 1929, and (3) the Naval Protocol of the 7th March, 1931.

2. I am sending a copy of this despatch to His Majesty's Ambassador at M[illegible].

I have, &c.
GEORGE R. CLERK

Enclosure in No. 36

Extract from the "République" of November 1, 1931.

PROTOCOLE DE PROLONGATION DU TRAITÉ D'AMITIÉ ENTRE LES GOUVERNEMENTS TURC ET SOVIÉTIQUE.

LE Gouvernement de la République turque et le Gouvernement de l'Union des Républiques soviétistes socialistes, estimant conforme à leurs intérêts mutuels et au désir dont ils sont animés de maintenir et de consolider davantage leurs relations normales durables et de sincère amitié, ont décidé de prolonger la durée de validité du Traité d'Amitié et de Neutralité signé à Paris le 17 décembre 1925 et des trois protocoles y annexés portant la même date, ainsi que celle du Protocole de Prolongation du 17 décembre 1929 et du Protocole naval du 7 mars 1931 signés à Ankara, et ils ont nommé à cet effet, d'une part, Tevfik Ruchdi Bey, Ministre des Affaires étrangères de la République turque, et Hussein Raghib Bey, Ambassadeur extraordinaire et plénipotentiaire de Turquie dans l'Union des Républiques soviétistes socialistes, et, d'autre part, M. Litvinoff, Commissaire du Peuple pour les Affaires étrangères de l'Union des Républiques soviétistes socialistes, et M. Souritz, Ambassadeur extraordinaire et plénipotentiaire de l'Union des Républiques soviétistes socialistes en Turquie, lesquels, après s'être communiqué leurs pleins pouvoirs, trouvés en bonne et due forme, ont arrêtés les dispositions suivantes:

Article 1er. La validité du Traité d'Amitié et de Neutralité conclu à Paris le 17 décembre 1925 et des trois protocoles y annexés portant la même date, ainsi que celle du Protocole de Prolongation du 17 décembre 1929 et du Protocole naval du 7 mars 1931, signés à Ankara, est prolongée pour la durée de cinq ans à partir de la date de leur expiration; toutefois, si une des parties contractantes ne prévient pas l'autre six mois avant le terme de cinq ans de son désir d'y mettre fin, le traité ainsi que les protocoles susmentionnés seront considérés comme automatiquement renouvelés pour une nouvelle période d'une année.

Article 2. Le présent protocole entrera en vigueur dès sa ratification, qui sera notifiée par chacune des parties à l'autre partie contractante.

Fait à Ankara, en deux exemplaires, le 30 octobre 1931.

E 5656/1205/65 No. 37.

Sir G. Clerk to Sir John Simon. (*Received November 13.*)

(No. 68.)
(Telegraphic.) *Angora, November 12, 1931.*

YOUR despatch No. 526.

Turkish Government have just received letter from Mufti of Jerusalem asking for delegates to be nominated to forthcoming Moslem Congress there.

The mufti had already asked Turkish consul at Jerusalem to forward invitation, but latter very properly refused to receive it unless it came through High Commissioner, whereupon it was sent by ordinary post.

Turkish Government consider both form of invitation from a non-official individual to the Head of State improper, and subjects for congress fraught with danger. Question of Caliphate is not specifically mentioned in programme, but it is certain to be discussed, for letter states that essential purpose of congress is Islamic union, which can only be achieved under Caliph, while actual agenda are mischievous enough. They are—

1. To inculcate mutual help amongst Moslems, and to insist on duties imposed by Moslem religion (which according to Minister for Foreign Affairs are, as laid down by Koran, that non-Moslems must be converted or reduced to dependence).
2. Strengthen Moslem religion against attack of irreligious (which Minister for Foreign Affairs said meant especially Turkey), and save Holy Places, especially Jerusalem, from *all* foreign ambition and domination.
3. Establish university at Jerusalem to keep Moslem youth from foreign schools.
4. Examine question of Hejazi Railway, which is a Moslem "Wakf."
5. Consider any question raised by any member of congress.

Minister for Foreign Affairs dilated at length upon dangers, which could not be lightly dismissed, because the mufti and Shaukat Ali (whom he had turned down heavily on his visit here in the spring) were irresponsible persons. His Excellency was sure that His Majesty's Government were alive to the situation, and Turkish Government were anxious to know your views before taking any action.

I am sending despatch by bag, but as proposed date of congress is 7th December, Minister for Foreign Affairs would be very grateful for earliest possible intimation as to attitude of His Majesty's Government.

E 5682 1234 44 No. 38

Sir G. Clerk to Sir John Simon. (*Received November 16.*)

(No. 372.)
Sir *Angora, November 9, 1931.*

I HAVE the honour to report that the following official denial appeared in the "Hakimiyeti Millive" of the 9th November:

"The Anatolian Agency is authorised to state that reports published to the effect that, during the Angora conversations, M. Litvinoff tried to prevent Turkey entering the League of Nations or to make such entry conditional on previous mutual agreement are without foundation."

2. The publication of this denial neither surprises nor convinces me. I have little doubt that, during his stay in Angora, M. Litvinoff, as reported in my despatch No. 361 of the 1st November, did his best to keep Turkey away from the League, and I am confirmed in my belief by Dr. Tevfik Rüstü's statement, reported in my despatch No. 366 of the 2nd instant, to the effect that he had told M. Litvinoff that Turkey wished to join the League of Nations and that the

Soviet Commissary had replied that, while his Government considered that Turkey was wrong, she was an independent country and was free to decide as she thought best.

I have, &c.
GEORGE R. CLERK.

E 5685 5684 44 No. 39

Sir G. Clerk to Sir John Simon. (*Received November 16.*)

(No. 379.)

Sir, *Angora, November 11, 1931.*

I HAVE the honour to report that it is announced in the "Hakimiyett Milliye" of to-day that the Council of Ministers has decided that Turkish consuls may grant visas for visits to Turkey, not exceeding two months, to Orthodox Greeks who left Turkey for Greece under the Convention respecting the Exchange of Populations signed at Lausanne on the 30th January, 1923.

2. The visas are granted subject to the conditions that exchangeables obtaining them may not settle in Turkey, and may not own or exercise rights over real property there. Furthermore, visas may not be granted without the previous consent of the central authorities.

3. The announcement of this concession was foreshadowed in paragraph 12 of Athens despatch No. 485 of the 7th October to the Foreign Office, and the fact, reported in my despatch No. 378 of to-day to you, that an exchangeable Greek priest had been allowed to visit Trebizond shows that the concession is already being acted upon.

4. A copy of this despatch is being sent to His Majesty's representative at Athens.

I have, &c.
GEORGE R. CLERK.

E 5687 68 44 No. 40

Sir G. Clerk to Sir John Simon. (*Received November 16.*)

(No. 381.)

HIS Majesty's representative in Turkey presents his compliments to His Majesty's Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, and has the honour to transmit herewith copy of despatch No. 124 from Trebizond, dated the 29th October, respecting the transfer of Kurds from the Ararat region to Western Turkey.

Angora, November 11, 1931.

Enclosure in No. 40.

Pro-Consul Falanga to Sir G. Clerk.

(No. 124.)

Sir, *Trebizond, October 29, 1931.*

I HAVE the honour to report, with reference to Trebizond despatch No. 105 of the 22nd ultimo, that a large party of Kurds from the Ararat region arrived here on the 27th instant on its way to the western vilayets. This party, which amounts to about 400 families, or approximately 2,000 persons, is said to be the last of the Halikanli tribe, whose headquarters were on the eastern side of Agri-dag (Ararat), in that part of Persian territory formerly occupied by Turkish troops, and which had surrendered to the Turkish military authorities. Some 10,000 head of cattle and other live stock follow the Kurds, who are under the command of Halil Aga, the tribe's chieftain. In order to prevent the Kurds

from dispersing and devastating the country on their way, they were sent under escort of a Turkish regiment of infantry. Two of these Kurds stated yesterday that they were coming from the territory situated "near Tabriz," and that a few Kurds only among them could speak Turkish. They thought that they were to be settled in the Brusa Vilayet, and added that they were travelling at the expense of the Turkish Government. I am informed from a local Turkish source that these Kurds are being registered by the local registrar, and given Turkish passports. Hilmi Bey, who is stated to be a director of the "Directorate-General of Settlement" sent by the Central Government to conduct the migration of these Kurds, arrived here on the 25th instant, and is arranging to despatch them as soon as possible. One party of Kurds, among whom was Halil Aga, was despatched, together with their cattle, by the "Seyri Sefain" steamship "Gumhuriyet" to-day, and the remainder will follow shortly.

I have, &c.
J. G. E. FALANGA.

E 5712 1205 65 No. 41.

Sir R. Vansittart (for the Secretary of State) to Mr. Hope Gill (Jedda).

(Nos. 142 and 143.)

(Telegraphic.) *Foreign Office, November 19, 1931.*

(R.) YOUR telegram No. 240 of 14th November: Proposed Moslem Congress at Jerusalem.

His Majesty's Government regret that they cannot assume responsibility of advising Ibn Saud whether to send delegates to Jerusalem. They are, however, in no way associated with proposal to hold congress, which has neither their support nor encouragement, and have been observing attitude of complete detachment except as regards possible reaction on public security in Palestine. Mufti, in issuing invitations, presumably acted as religious dignitary and not as Palestinian official, *i.e.*, President of Supreme Moslem Council. You may inform Hejaz-Nejd Government accordingly. (End of R.)

(For your confidential information.)

As result of representations from Turkish, Italian and other Governments, Acting High Commissioner is being consulted as to possibility of prohibiting congress or preventing its indulgence in such activities as might have undesirable international reactions. I will telegraph further on receipt of his reply.

(Repeated to Angora, Nos. 57 and 58, and Jerusalem, Nos. 263 and 264.)

E 5712 1205 65 No. 42

Sir R. Vansittart (for the Secretary of State) to Sir G. Clerk (Angora).

(No. 59.)

(Telegraphic.) *Foreign Office, November 19, 1931.*

YOUR telegram No. 68 of 12th November: Proposed Moslem Congress at Jerusalem.

Whole matter is still under consideration, but you may use substance of letter to Turkish Ambassador in my despatch No. 526 of 30th October, and of first paragraph of my telegram No. 142 to Jedda of 19th November, should you think it desirable to reply to Turkish Government without further delay.

E 5784 1205 65 No 43.

Sir G. Clerk to Sir John Simon. (*Received November 23.*)

(No. 388.)

Sir, *Angora, November 12, 1931.*

WITH reference to my telegram No. 68 of to day, I have the honour to report that I received a telephone message from the Minister for Foreign Affairs this evening asking me to be good enough to come and see him as soon as possible, as he had an important matter which he wished to discuss with me. When I arrived at the Ministry his Excellency informed me of the invitation from the Grand Mufti of Jerusalem, which the Turkish Government had just received.

2. Tevfik Rustu Bey said that, other considerations apart, the form of the invitation was improper, a fact which could be held to justify its being left unanswered. Haj Amin el Husseini might be the Grand Mufti of Jerusalem but he held no representative office in Palestine which qualified him to invite officially the head of a foreign State to nominate delegates to an unofficial gathering, whether it was called a congress or conference or anything else. His Excellency said he might tell me that, as a matter of fact, the Mufti had visited the Turkish consulate in Jerusalem and asked him to forward an important communication to Angora. The consul had very properly enquired whether the High Commission was aware of the request. The Mufti had replied that the latter had nothing to do with the High Commission, on which the consul had observed that, in that case he could not undertake to forward it. Thereupon the Mufti had sent the invitation through the ordinary post.

3. But the question of the propriety or otherwise of the invitation was comparatively indifferent. What really mattered was the purpose and probable consequences of the congress, if it were held. The Mufti's letter stated that the essential purpose of the congress was the Union of Islam, which meant first of all the revival of the Caliphate (for, said Tevfik Rustu by its constitution Islam could only be united under a Caliphs and, further the erection of yet another subversive force in the world. This could only result in a focus of intrigue and rebellion against the British Empire while it would stir up reaction in Turkey and inevitably lead to a recrudescence of violent nationalism with its attendant evils. It was not that the Turkish Government were in any way alarmed at the thought of the reinstatement of the actual ex Caliph. He was a harmless old gentleman and the Turkish Government had been quite happy that his daughter should marry the son of a wealthy Indian Prince, and he himself thereby presumably find a comfortable home for his declining years. It was the institution and not the figure head which disturbed the Government. Furthermore there was a so called congress of irresponsible people who proposed to deal with a series of questions which were purely matters for Governments and not for private individuals to consider. The subjects laid down in the Mufti's letter to be examined by the congress were as follows:

(1) The development of a spirit of general and mutual help among Moslems and the emphasising to the Moslem world of the social duties imposed by their religion. If Tevfik Rustu observed this resolution were to be carried out according to the precepts of the Koran it meant that the non Moslem world must be either converted or reduced to dependence.

(2) The rescue of the Moslem religion from the ills it has suffered and from the attacks of the irreligious a point which was obviously aimed at the modern Turkish State first and foremost. Further the congress was to discuss how best to assure and strengthen Moslem interests and how to save the holy places especially Jerusalem from all foreign ambitions and domination.

(3) The establishment of a Moslem university at Jerusalem in order to keep Moslem youth away from foreign schools and influence.

(4) The study of the question of securing possession of the Hejaz Railway which is Moslem Vakuf by Moslems.

(5) The consideration of any motion proposed by any member of the congress.

4. The Minister for Foreign Affairs said that he was sure that the objectionable nature of such discussions would be as patent to the British Government as it was to himself. Even though it were held that the Grand Mufti and

Shaukat Ali, whom his Excellency clearly considered the moving spirit of the business, were irresponsible people of no great importance or influence, the repercussions of such a congress could not fail to be troublesome. Incidentally his Excellency said he would tell me in confidence that when Shaukat Ali visited Turkey on his way back to India in the spring, he demanded to see the Gazi, whereupon his Excellency asked him for his passport, explaining that, if he were a Turkish subject he should apply for an audience to the Secretary-General and if he were a foreigner, through his Ambassador or Minister. Thereupon Shaukat Ali indignantly departed and subsequently, when he got to Syria attacked Tevfik Rustu with much bitterness.

5. The Minister for Foreign Affairs continued that his Government felt that His Majesty's Government were principally and most directly concerned in this question, and, therefore, the Turkish Government, before deciding as to its own action was very anxious to know what was the British attitude. He had asked me to come at once, as soon as the Mufti's letter had arrived, because he felt he could give no better proof of the goodness of our relations and of the loyalty of the Turkish Government to our friendship than by informing me of these views and wishes of the Turkish Government. But inasmuch as the congress was due to meet on the 7th December next he would be very grateful for as early an intimation as possible of the position adopted towards it by His Majesty's Government.

6. I ventured to thank his Excellency for the friendly spirit to which he had given expression and which I was sure would be so much appreciated by my Government as he himself, and I said that I would at once inform you of all he had told me. I was not in a position to give any indication of your views since the only knowledge I possessed of anything connected with the matter was probably already shared by his Excellency namely, the opinion of His Majesty's Government as to the activities of Shaukat Ali in Palestine and elsewhere, as conveyed by the Turkish Ambassador in London. I would however, speaking quite personally remind his Excellency that there were millions of Moslem subjects in the British Empire and that anything that savoured of interference in their religious concerns was contrary to our whole practice and tradition a fact which must necessarily carry its weight with my Government when deciding on its attitude.

7. While Tevfik Rustu's appeal is in its way a gratifying sign of the growth of Turkish confidence in His Majesty's Government, one must not attach too much weight to his action as a proof of established friendship, for it is natural that the Turkish Government, to whom pan Islamism or anything like a general union of Moslem religious feeling represents the worst form of reaction and directly threatens modern Turkish policy, should try to get us to suppress the congress. None the less, the attitude of the Turkish Minister for Foreign Affairs shows that we have moved a long way forward since Lausanne much further than is perhaps generally realised, for otherwise I find it hard to understand why the Grand Mufti should have gone to such pains to invite the Turkish Government to nominate delegates to the congress. He must have known that the religious questions to be discussed thereat would not interest Angora. I should doubt his wishing to split the Moslem world openly into two and I can only conclude that he counted on the anti-British spirit of the agenda to bring Turkey into the conference.

I have, &c.

GEORGE R. CLERK.

E 5900 1205 65 No 44

Sir G. Clerk to Sir John Simon. (*Received November 28.*)

No. 75. Confidential.)
(Telegraphic.) *Angora, November 28, 1931.*

YOUR telegram No. 59.

President of the Republic knowing that I am just going on leave, sent the Turkish Ambassador at Berlin who is staying with him and very much in his confidence to see me yesterday evening with a personal request to impress upon you as soon as I get home his earnest hope that the British and Turkish Governments would make common cause in this question of the Islamic Conference.

which he felt was as potentially mischievous for us as for Turkey. President considered that the vital interests of Turkey are so closely involved that he had made up his own mind as to the policy he would have to adopt in their defence if he had to act independently, but he made it clear that this was said without any idea of forcing our hands, for the Turkish Ambassador at Berlin said that the Gazi much hoped it would not come to this, for he believed His Majesty's Government to be as alive to the situation as he was, and his real wish was to see His Majesty's Government and his own Government united on this question. The Gazi would not take action until he knew the definite attitude of His Majesty's Government, but he was naturally anxious to learn it as soon as possible.

I shall be very grateful for the earliest possible intimation of which of the two alternatives set forth in Colonial Office telegram to Palestine No. 262 is decided upon. Meanwhile I shall be seeing the Prime Minister and Minister for Foreign Affairs this afternoon to take leave, and I shall inform them that the views of the Turkish Government on this question are receiving your most [group omitted] and sympathetic consideration.

E 5896 1205 65 No. 45

Sir John Simon to His Majesty's Representatives at Angora (*Nos. 61 and 62*) *and Jedda* (*Nos. 145 and 146*)

(Telegraphic.) *Foreign Office, November 28, 1931*

(R.) MY telegram No. 142 to Jedda of 19th November: Proposed Moslem Congress at Jerusalem.

If further reply is necessary to representations of Government to which you are accredited you may inform them that His Majesty's Government will maintain the attitude of detachment which they have hitherto adopted, and that in view of recent conversations between High Commissioner for Palestine and Mufti of Jerusalem, His Majesty's Government do not anticipate that political issues will be raised or that proceedings of congress will cause embarrassment to Government to which you are accredited. You may add that mufti has given specific assurance that Caliphate question will not be raised. (End of R.)

For your own information, it has proved impracticable to prohibit congress, and there are strong objections to any further direct intervention by His Majesty's Government, unless public order or security is threatened.

(Repeated to Jerusalem (Palestine Series), Nos. 274 and 275.)

E 5963 1205 65 No. 46

Sir G. Clerk to Sir John Simon. (*Received December 1.*)

(Unnumbered.)
(Telegraphic.) *Constantinople, December 1, 1931*

MY telegram No. 73 and your telegrams Nos. 61 and 62

Following comes from Mr. Morgan at Angora just as I am on the point of starting on leave:

> Minister for Foreign Affairs was distinctly put out and resentful on learning decision of His Majesty's Government about the congress. He was inclined to cavil at "detachment," as he knew great preparations were being made at Jerusalem, although he agreed that these were due to local authorities. He said that neither Turkey, Persia nor Afghanistan would be represented officially or otherwise, and that Turkey would now in its own interest impress on its native people through the press that the congress is not an inter-State one but a local and parochial gathering, from Dominions and mandated countries, and thus diminish its influence here. Turkey would watch the congress closely, as, for instance, discussions of congress on Moslem sacred law (e.g. reform of marriage) would be interference in Turkish internal affairs.
>
> "This foreshadows a press campaign."

[E 5993/1205/65] No. 47.

Mr. Morgan to Sir John Simon.—(*Received December 3.*)

(No. 74.)
(Telegraphic.) *Angora, December 3, 1931*

SIR G. CLERK'S unnumbered telegram of 1st December from Constantinople.

Minister for Foreign Affairs has now informed me that his free expression of his feelings on learning decision of His Majesty's Government about Islamic Congress was as between friends. He wishes it recorded that Turkish Government is very grateful to His Majesty's Government for consideration shown to Turkish views and very appreciative of assistance given by Embassy, and will stress friendly attitude of His Majesty's Government in any public utterance he may have occasion to make about the congress.

E 6050/1205/65 No. 48.

Sir G. Clerk to Sir John Simon. (*Received December 8.*)

(No. 397.)
Sir *Angora, December 1, 1931*

I HAVE the honour to report that, on receipt of your telegrams Nos. 61 and 62 of the 28th November regarding the coming Islamic Congress in Jerusalem, I asked for an interview with the Turkish Minister for Foreign Affairs for the purpose of communicating to him your decision, which he had been awaiting with interest, and saw him late on the 30th November.

2. I recalled to him that he had asked to be informed of the attitude which His Majesty's Government would adopt in regard to the congress, and also that the President of the Republic had, but two or three days previously, expressed a similar wish. I added that the telegram containing the decision of His Majesty's Government had been despatched from London before the arrival there of news of the Gazi's enquiry. I then informed him as follows:

> As a result of conversations which have taken place between the High Commissioner in Palestine and the Mufti of Jerusalem, His Majesty's Government do not anticipate that political issues will be raised during the proposed congress which has neither the support nor the encouragement of His Majesty's Government—or that the proceedings of the congress will be such as to cause embarrassment to the Turkish Government. In particular, the mufti has given specific assurances that the Caliphate question will not be raised.
>
> For these reasons, and taking into consideration the important Moslem interests of the Empire, His Majesty's Government, whose guiding principle is not to take any action which might be represented as interference in Moslem religious matters, has decided that it will maintain an attitude of complete detachment towards the congress.

I added that this attitude of detachment was conditional on public security in Palestine not being threatened.

3. Tevfik Rüstü Bey was distinctly disconcerted, and somewhat cross and resentful, on learning the decision. He expressed the fear that the congress would threaten not only security in Palestine, but throughout the British Empire. He was inclined to question the complete "detachment" of His Majesty's Government as he knew that great preparations for the congress were being made throughout Jerusalem, but agreed in the end that these were to be ascribed to the local authorities. He then said that it was now Turkey's duty to let her own people know through the press that the congress had no support from the Turkish Government nor, as he knew, from those of Persia and Afghanistan, and that it was, as it were, a parochial gathering, at the invitation of a person of no great authority, of Moslems from different Dominions and mandated territories. The harmful influence of the congress might thus perhaps be checked. Turkey would watch the proceedings of the congress closely. It seemed to him inevitable that if, for instance, the Seriat

(Moslem Canon Law) were discussed, there might arise a situation which would possibly constitute an interference in Turkish internal affairs, for the prescriptions of the Seriat in regard to civil and penal matters were incompatible with those of the Turkish codes, and the decisions of a Moslem congress might unsettle Turkish minds.

4. I gathered from Tevfik Rüstü Bey that he had confidently anticipated that His Majesty's Government would prohibit the congress, firstly, in their own interests, the appeal to Moslems to rally to the cause of religion being a retrograde step in these modern days, and forming also a potential menace to Great Britain and Europe; secondly, for international considerations, in view of the possible reactions in foreign countries against His Majesty's Government for permitting the holding of such a congress in a country under British mandate, and, finally, out of friendship to Turkey. It appeared to me that he thought it an easy matter to prohibit what purported to be a pan-Moslem conference summoned by a minor religious dignitary of a town of secondary sacred importance who had no standing for issuing invitations to Governments, and that the anti-British and anti-Jewish character of the mufti's initiative would have afforded sufficient cause for the suppression of the congress. However, the decision in the matter, he said, lay with His Majesty's Government and had now been taken.

5. The Minister for Foreign Affairs mentioned that he would, of course, communicate the decision of His Majesty's Government to the President of the Republic and to Ismet Pasha. If, as hinted by Tevfik Rüstü Bey, the order is given that a campaign of belittlement of the congress should be begun in the Turkish press in the pious hope that the Turkish people will be led to attach little importance to its proceedings, it is to be feared that His Majesty's Government will not escape criticism of its attitude, or accusation of responsibility for, or association with, the congress. In any case, the question is likely to cause a check on the friendly feelings of late manifested by Turkey to Great Britain, and it certainly indicates the great importance which Turkey attaches to any movement that may stir up dormant religious feelings in Turkey and thus unsettle Turkish minds and lead to discontent with the present régime.

I have, &c.

(For the Ambassador),

JAMES MORGAN.

E 6172/1235/65 No. 49.

Mr. Morgan to Sir John Simon.—(Received December 14.)

(No. 415.)

Sir, *Angora, December 8, 1931.*

WITH reference to my telegram No. 74 of the 3rd December regarding the Moslem Congress in Jerusalem, I have the honour to report that, during a reception given on the 2nd December on the occasion of the visit to Angora of the Bulgarian Prime Minister, the Turkish Minister for Foreign Affairs took me aside to tell me that the freedom with which he had expressed his views, on learning from me two days previously the decision of His Majesty's Government not to prohibit the congress, was a sign of friendliness towards His Majesty's Embassy, for he would not have expressed himself in such strain, and at such length, if he had not been speaking as between friends. He went on to say that he deeply appreciated the consideration given to the views of the Turkish Government by His Majesty's Government, and the helpful attitude of this Embassy from the time when he had first raised the topic of the congress. He would not fail to make mention, in any public utterance he might have to make, of the sympathetic part played by His Majesty's Government. I was duly appreciative and did not fail to let him know that His Majesty's Government did not wish, by suppressing the congress, to give it the publicity of martyrdom and an importance it did not now possess.

2. On the following day Dr. Tevfik Rüstü was questioned about the congress in the Grand National Assembly. Seeing me that evening engaged in conversation with the Bulgarian Prime Minister, he interrupted the conversation to ask if I had read his reply to the question. On my confessing that I had not, the Afghan Ambassador, who was standing by, was despatched, at the run, to obtain a copy of the Anatolian News Agency sheet containing the text. In handing this to me Dr. Tevfik Rüstü remarked that Turkey wished to live on terms of friendship with all States, and that Turkish relations with His Majesty's Government were of so friendly a nature that during the last three years no note likely to injure that friendship had been written by either party to the other.

3. The following is a translation of the Anatolian News Agency account of Dr. Tevfik Rüstü Bey's reply to a question by Dr. Mazhar Bey (Denizli) about the nature of the Moslem Congress to be held at Jerusalem:—

"The Moslem Congress which is to be held at Jerusalem on the initiative of the mufti of that town, aided by associates from various places, will, according to the published agenda, deal with matters connected with the Seriat (Moslem canon law). The significance of this word is present in no uncertain fashion to all who are familiar with the incidents formerly committed from time to time in its name under the Ottoman sultans, in other countries too, and, but a few years ago, in Afghanistan. Immediately on receipt of the news of the congress, your Ministry for Foreign Affairs did not fail to get in touch with the Governments concerned, and, in a friendly fashion, requested information on the matter from the British Government, as that Government holds the reins of administration in Palestine.

"It was ascertained that political issues would not be raised during the proposed congress; that its proceedings would be such as not to cause embarrassment to the Government of the Turkish Republic; that, in particular, the Caliphate question would in no way be raised; and that the British Government neither supported nor encouraged the congress, and maintained an attitude of detachment towards it.

"Our contacts with the Governments of Persia, Afghanistan, Albania and the Hejaz enabled us to learn that these friendly States would not participate in any way in the congress. Through our friendly contacts with the Governments of Iraq and Egypt we understood that these Governments could not be officially represented at the congress, but that certain individuals from the two countries would proceed, without having any official or public character, to the congress."

(Here the French edition of the "République" inserts a passage missing in the Turkish text, viz.:—

"In these circumstances it is clear that, apart from countries having private or political interests with the British Empire, no independent country containing a Moslem majority has any connexion with the congress, the composition of which is therefore limited to representatives of peoples inhabiting regions subjected to certain political conditions.")

"It is a truth, proved to the satisfaction of nationalities of all countries, by many examples, that undertakings of this nature have not been and will not be advantageous to countries or to the masses.

"It is true that we also received invitations from the promoters of the congress, but republican Turkey can have nothing to do with undertakings of this kind, which aim at holding peoples back on the way of progress, and which have, undeniably, deplorable consequences. We are especially opposed to the use of religion as a political instrument in internal and foreign policy. We are watching developments closely. As long as it shows no near or distant connexion with our national affairs, this undertaking will remain a matter of local importance for the regions represented by those assembled there, but immaterial to us."

The Anatolian Agency adds:—

"Dr. Mazhar Bey thanked the Minister for Foreign Affairs for his explanation, and said that Turks were profoundly sensitive where their revolution was concerned, and therefore could not regard with indifference events of universal appeal taking place in a near-by country, nor could they allow any sort of outside interference in the revolution they had so willingly made."

4. In a leading article in the "République" of the 5th December, Yunus Nadi, after referring to the irritation created in the country which had abolished the Caliphate by the report that this question would be discussed at the Moslem Congress at Jerusalem, reproduces Dr. Tevfik Rüştü Bey's statements to the Assembly and expresses satisfaction with them. At the same time, Yunus Nadi calls on Turks to follow the proceedings of the congress with attention, and to react at once if anything resembling criticism or discussion of Turkey's decision to separate the spiritual and temporal powers is heard at the Jerusalem congress. He further proves to his own satisfaction that, if the congress confines itself to advocating religious reforms, or internationalism based on the tie of Islam, it is doomed to failure. He recalls that the declaration of the Holy War in 1914 by the Ottoman Empire did not prevent Moslems fighting against Turks. Moslem peoples, who ought rather to seek for their own independence, should not be led away by the mirage of the international Caliphate and the subjection of other peoples, who are all entitled to follow their own consciences in the matter of belief. The greatest happiness of any people is its independence.

5. Apart from the leader in the "République" there has been no Turkish press comment on the congress.

I have, &c.
JAMES MORGAN.

C 9350/8335/7 No. 50.

Mr. Morgan to Sir John Simon.—(Received December 16.)

(No. 416.)

Sir, *Angora, December 9, 1931.*

WITH reference to my despatch No. 406 of the 2nd December, regarding the official visit of the Bulgarian Prime Minister to Turkey, I have the honour to report that, after a four days' stay at Angora, M. Moushanoff left on the 5th December for Constantinople and Bulgaria. During his stay here two receptions attended by the Diplomatic Corps were held in his honour, the usual banquets were given by the leading Turkish personalities, the Gazi received M. Moushanoff in an audience lasting some two hours, and finally the Gazi and his Bulgarian guests attended an excellent concert of chamber music played by the Gazi's band.

2. The visit passed off in an atmosphere of great cordiality. The Turks were really pleased to have an opportunity of showing hospitality to the Bulgars, whom they respect, and in whose presence they feel neither an inferiority nor a superiority complex, and they found no difficulty in following the lead of the Gazi, whose friendly behaviour towards the visitors was based on his recollections of happy times spent in Bulgaria before the war, and of agreeable contact with his Bulgarian allies during its course. On their side the Bulgarians were pleased to be in Turkey, where they are treated as equals and with consideration, and where there is unconcealed sympathy for their present unhappy situation.

3. As far as I can gather the visit had no other object than to maintain and strengthen friendly relations between the two countries. Bulgaria is no doubt pleased to have in Turkey a friend who may be counted on to use her influence to smooth over Bulgaria's difficulties with her Balkan neighbours, and Turkey, in pursuit of her present policy of peace abroad, is glad to have a friendly Bulgaria as neighbour. The Greek Minister hinted to me that Turkey was now trying to persuade Greece to settle all her differences with Bulgaria. The French Ambassador, while inclined to look on the visit with suspicion, could find little to comment on except that it was strange that the members of the Italian Embassy were showing no tendency to take up the rôle of presiding genii over the manifestations of Turco-Bulgarian friendship. It was remarked by all, in the course of one of the receptions, that M. Neshitch, the Yugoslav Minister, engaged the Bulgarian Prime Minister in earnest private conversation for nearly three-quarters of an hour.

4. The speeches exchanged between Ismet Pasha and M. Moushanoff, and the official communiqué, issued after the visit, refer to the natural affinity of the two peoples, the identity of their interests, their mutual, cordial and friendly feelings and their desire to give a wider development to their economic relations.

M. Moushanoff was evidently thinking of Bulgarian minorities in other countries when, in reply to Ismet Pasha, he said that thousands of Turks in Bulgaria were an element of order in the country, and lived on terms of fraternity and harmony with their Christian fellow-subjects, and again when he went on to say that the Bulgarians had lived for centuries under a Turkish domination which had respected their nationality and culture.

5. The Turkish press expressed admiration for the heroism and endurance of the Bulgarian nation. The "Vakit" hoped that Turco-Bulgarian and Turco-Greek friendship would be followed by Graeco-Bulgarian friendship. The "Aksam" is astonished that the visit has caused anger in Yugoslavia and France. Both these countries wished to know whether there was a question of an alliance between Turkey, Greece and Bulgaria against Yugoslavia, *i.e.*, against France, but there was, according to the "Aksam," no need for anxiety, as Turkey's only desire was to live in peace with her nearest neighbours. The "Milliyet" is also astonished at Yugoslavia's anxiety, and affirms that Turco-Bulgarian friendship will contribute generally to peace and tranquillity in South-Eastern Europe.

6. I am sending a copy of this despatch to His Majesty's representative at Sofia.

I have, &c.
JAMES MORGAN.

E 6326/64/44 No. 51.

Mr. Morgan to Sir John Simon.—(Received December 22.)

(No. 424.)

Sir, *Angora, December 15, 1931.*

WITH reference to your circular despatch of the 24th November about the imposition of foreign exchange restrictions by foreign Governments, I have the honour to report that, according to the local press, negotiations are in course between Turkey and Hungary for the establishment of a system of barter between the two countries. Hungary will supply Turkey with agricultural machinery and implements and with animals for breeding purposes and will receive in return coal, of which Hungary consumes more than 1½ million tons annually, tobacco and cotton.

2. I drew the attention of the Hungarian Chargé d'Affaires to the press reports. He said that, broadly speaking, the reports were correct, but that no details had yet been agreed on.

3. The method of paying in Turkish produce for imports into Turkey is not new. It was recently prescribed by ministerial decree in the case of all orders placed abroad by Turkish Government Departments, public bodies, or concessionary companies. Exemption from this regulation may only be obtained from the Council of Ministers. In this connexion I invite a reference to Sir G. Clerk's despatch No. D.O.T. (A) 1 of the 18th November to you and to despatch Overseas Trade (B) No. 563/31 of the 1st December from the commercial secretary of this Embassy to the Department of Overseas Trade.

4. I am sending a copy of this despatch to His Majesty's Minister at Budapest.

I have, &c.
JAMES MORGAN.

E 6374/1234/44 No. 52.

Mr. Morgan to Sir John Simon.—(Received December 28.)

(No. 431.)

Sir, *Angora, December 22, 1931.*

WITH reference to paragraph 6 of Sir G. Clerk's despatch No. 358 of the 1st November last, concerning the visit to Turkey of the Soviet Commissary for Foreign Affairs, I have the honour to report that, according to the "République" of the 21st December, the visit of the Turkish Prime Minister to Moscow will take place at the end of April 1932. The programme of the visit has been so

arranged that Ismet Pasha will be at Moscow on the 1st May and will take part in the ceremonies connected with the workers' festival, which is expected to be more imposing in 1932 than in previous years.

2. Ismet Pasha will proceed to Sebastopol in the steamship "Ege," and will be accompanied by Tevfik Rüstü Bey, Minister for Foreign Affairs, Mustafa Seref Bey, Minister of National Economy, and representatives of the press.

3. I am sending a copy of this despatch to His Majesty's Ambassador at Moscow.

I have, &c.
JAMES MORGAN

[E 6375/6375/44] No. 53.

Mr. Morgan to Sir John Simon.—(Received December 28.)

(No. 432.)
Sir, *Angora, December 23, 1931.*

I HAVE the honour to report that, for some time past, prominence has been given in the Turkish press to the harm done to the nation by smuggling, particularly on the Turco-Syrian frontier. It is undoubted that it is being practised on a comparatively large scale and with the connivance of Turkish officials. In a public speech, delivered on the occasion of the inauguration of an economy and "Buy Turkish" week, Ismet Pasha estimated the loss caused to the State by smuggling at £T. 20 to 25 million a year, apart from the prejudice caused to local industry by the illicit introduction of non-taxed foreign goods.

2. The press regrets that the mass of the people refuses to consider smuggling as something discreditable, and attributes this to the habit of condoning contraband practices, which was formed when Turkish revenues and industries used to be under foreign control. It now impresses on its readers that smuggling is treason, and in its indignation calls for the re-establishment of the "Independence Tribunals." It has transpired that it is due to the opposition of Yusuf Kemal Bey, Minister of Justice, that these tribunals have not been re-established, as he pointed out that their reappearance might lead foreign Governments to suspect that Turkey's internal situation was in some way critical. The Government has, however, prepared a Bill for submission to the Grand National Assembly providing for very severe penalties for smugglers and corrupt officials.

3. While smuggling takes place on every frontier, and contraband is carried on in all parts of the country, the Government and the press have concentrated public attention on smuggling on the Turco-Syrian frontier. The Minister of the Interior, who has recently returned from a tour in the Southern and South-Eastern provinces, gives smuggling from Syria the chief place in his public utterances about his tour. I hazard, however, the opinion that the violent campaign against smuggling is, in a large sense, political, and that it is inspired partly by indignation against the French authorities in Syria for settling large bodies of Armenians, Kurds and Circassians near the Turkish frontier (an indignation alleged to be shared by Syrian Nationalists alarmed at the threat to national union created by the encouragement of minorities and the formation of a new Armenian home), and partly by resentment against the French Government for showing no tendency to imitate the policy of His Majesty's Government in Iraq and to withdraw their troops and officials from Syria, leaving it to be ruled by Syrians (the Turkish attitude in this regard is more fully explained in paragraph 3 of Sir G. Clerk's despatch No. 366 of the 2nd November last). An independent Syria, like an independent Iraq, could be counted on to be friendly to Turkey, and responsive to all her wishes, particularly in regard to the treatment of minorities, and both might ultimately, under the influence of their Turkish or pro-Turkish elements, drift into the position of Turkey's allies or vassals.

I have, &c.
JAMES MORGAN.

[E 6179/3720/34] No. 54.

Sir John Simon to Mr. Hoare (Tehran).

(No. 766.)
Sir, *Foreign Office, December 28, 1931.*

WITH reference to my predecessor's despatch No. 596 of the 15th October, enclosing a copy of a note, dated the 9th April, 1929, from the Turkish Minister for Foreign Affairs to the Persian Ambassador at Angora, giving the terms of the frontier agreement of that date between the Turkish and Persian Governments, I transmit to you the accompanying copy of the Turco-Persian Convention, concluded on the same date, for the establishment of order and security in the frontier regions.

2. The text of the convention has been communicated to His Majesty's Embassy in Turkey by the Turkish Ministry for Foreign Affairs, who state that neither of the two supplementary protocols referred to in articles 4 and 7 of the convention has been concluded, and that the date mentioned in article 5 is correctly given as the 23rd April, 1336 (*i.e.*, 1920), and is not an error for 1926, the date of the Turco-Persian Treaty of Friendship, as might not unreasonably be supposed.

I am, &c.
JOHN SIMON

Enclosure in No. 54.

Turco-Persian Convention for the Establishment of Order and Security in the Frontier Regions.

LA Turquie d'une part et la Perse de l'autre, conscientes de la nécessité de voir l'ordre et la sécurité assurés d'une façon stable dans les régions frontières et particulièrement de mettre fin aux actes de banditisme et de pillage qui sont continuellement commis dans la zone d'Agri-Dagh;

Ayant constaté par suite de multiples incidents que dans cette dernière région la population et les postes de frontière sont exposés à des agressions continuelles; et résolues à mettre définitivement fin à cet état de choses qui n'est nullement en harmonie avec la politique respective des deux États voisins et amis, et à empêcher que la frontière ne devienne une base d'opérations pour les nomades de la susdite zone;

Ont, conformément à l'article 6 du Traité de Neutralité et d'Amitié du 22 avril 1926, décidé de pourvoir aux moyens de résoudre d'un commun accord toutes les questions et incidents de frontière pouvant arriver à surgir entre elles, et, dans ce but, désigné leurs plénipotentiaires, savoir :

Le Président de la République turque : Son Excellence Tewfik Rouchdy Bey, Ministre des Affaires étrangères, Député de Smyrne;
Sa Majesté impériale le Schah de Perse : Son Altesse Mirza Mohammed Ali Khan Foroughi, son Ambassadeur en Turquie

ARTICLE 1er.

Les deux parties contractantes s'engagent réciproquement à empêcher par tous les moyens en leur pouvoir les préparatifs faits des deux parts de la frontière en vue de se livrer à des actes de pillage et de banditisme dans la zone frontière par un ou plusieurs individus et par des tribus et à s'opposer à ce que ceux-ci franchissent la frontière.

ARTICLE 2

Les autorités frontières des États turc et persan, ainsi que leurs fonctionnaires civils des zones avoisinantes, sont tenus de s'aviser réciproquement et sans perte de temps de tous préparatifs parvenus à leur connaissance et faits par un ou plusieurs individus ou par une tribu, en vue de se livrer à des actes de pillage et de banditisme dans la zone frontière. Ces mêmes fonctionnaires sont

tenus de même de s'aviser réciproquement de tous actes de banditisme et de brigandage effectués dans leurs circonscriptions administratives. Les fonctionnaires de la partie avisée s'emploieront par tous les moyens en leur possession à empêcher les fauteurs du crime de franchir la frontière.

ARTICLE 3.

En cas où un ou plusieurs ressortissants d'une des parties contractantes, après avoir commis un crime ou un délit sur le territoire de leur pays, réussiraient à franchir la frontière, les autorités de la zone frontière où ils se seraient réfugiés, ayant pris connaissance du fait, sont tenues de les faire arrêter avec leurs armes et butins. En vertu d'un mandat régulier émanant de l'autorité judiciaire compétente, transmis par voie diplomatique, les inculpés doivent être remis conformément aux dispositions légales de chaque pays concernant l'extradition.

ARTICLE 4.

Au cas où un ou plusieurs individus résidant sur le territoire de l'une des deux parties contractantes réussiraient à se rendre sur le territoire de l'autre, à y commettre des crimes et des actes de banditisme et à repasser la frontière, les autorités du Gouvernement dont ils ressortissent prendront toutes les mesures nécessaires pour réprimer et punir les coupables et restituer les butins.

Un protocole additionnel fixera en détail la procédure à employer pour l'exécution de cet article.

ARTICLE 5.

Les deux parties s'engagent à désigner les tribus kurdes qui avaient quitté les territoires respectifs avant la signature de la présente convention à partir du 23 avril 1336 et qui se trouvent actuellement dans la zone frontière et à les transporter en dehors de ces zones en vue d'empêcher leurs incursions dans le territoire d'où elles se sont enfuies.

Une liste des individus poursuivant des buts politiques, et dont la présence dans la zone frontière devrait être empêchée par suite de la suspicion qu'ils inspirent à l'une ou à l'autre des deux parties, sera présentée dans l'espace de six mois à dater de la signature de cette convention.

ARTICLE 6.

Les deux parties contractantes nommeront des délégués permanents en nombre égal et ces délégués seront chargés de faciliter l'application des dispositions de la présente convention, d'assurer d'une façon générale les relations de bon voisinage sur la frontière, de résoudre à l'amiable toutes questions de frontière surgies entre les autorités de frontière et n'ayant pu aboutir à une entente.

Les délégués permanents se réuniront alternativement sur les territoires turcs et persans au moins deux fois par an.

ARTICLE 7.

Les deux parties contractantes s'engagent à prendre en collaboration étroite toutes les mesures nécessaires en vue d'empêcher les agressions continuelles des tribus dans la zone d'Agri-Dagh et pour réprimer radicalement les agresseurs.

Les modalités de la collaboration ainsi que les mesures appropriées seront indiquées dans un protocole annexé à cette convention.

ARTICLE 8.

Au cas où un différend surgirait entre les autorités respectives de la zone frontière à propos d'un incident de banditisme ou de pillage de quelque nature qu'ils soient, les autorités supérieures de la frontière entreront immédiatement en pourparlers afin de résoudre le différend existant.

Au cas où la question ne pourra être tranchée, elles dresseront un procès-verbal sur l'objet du différend, en précisant séparément leurs points de vue, et l'adresseront, par l'intermédiaire des autorités supérieures responsables,

aux Ministères des Affaires étrangères des deux Etats respectifs. Au besoin et dans le but de résoudre la question, une enquête commune sera menée par les deux Gouvernements et les responsables reconnus seront punis par les autorités intéressées.

ARTICLE 9.

Les deux Gouvernements se communiqueront par un échange de notes quelles seront les autorités qui seront respectivement chargées de l'application de la présente convention, soit pour la coordination générale des efforts et la responsabilité des mesures à adopter, soit pour la communication et l'échange des renseignements locaux.

ARTICLE 10.

Les autorités supérieures de la frontière mentionnées à l'article 9 pouvant entrer en correspondance directe avec l'Ambassadeur de l'Etat dont ils ressortissent, accrédité chez l'autre Etat, les autorités des parties contractantes accorderont toutes les facilités voulues en vue d'assurer et de hâter cette correspondance.

ARTICLE 11.

Les autorités civiles des deux côtés de la zone frontière pourront au besoin entrer réciproquement en relations, et les officiers de frontière respectifs, sur la demande et l'information réciproques, sont tenus de s'entr'aider mutuellement afin d'empêcher d'un commun accord le banditisme et le pillage.

ARTICLE 12.

Afin d'assurer au besoin la correspondance entre les autorités frontières, les parties contractantes pourvoiront le plus tôt possible aux moyens de correspondance qui leur seront indiqués par leurs états majors respectifs.

ARTICLE 13.

Les dispositions de la présente convention s'appliqueront dans une zone de 50 kilom. de profondeur des deux côtés de la frontière.

La présente convention entre en vigueur dès sa signature et aura la durée de trois années. Si elle n'est pas dénoncée par l'une ou l'autre des hautes parties contractantes six mois avant l'expiration de ce terme, elle restera valable pour une nouvelle période d'un an et ainsi de suite.

Faite à Angora, en double exemplaire, le 9 avril 1929.

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